LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memorialsofcharl00mereiala

JDHM 2 1 61

MEMORIALS

OF

CHARLES JOHN,

KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY:

ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS CHARACTER;

OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON;

AND OF THE PRESENT STATE OF HIS KINGDOMS.

WITH A DISCOURSE

ON THE

POLITICAL CHARACTER OF SWEDEN.

BY WILLIAM GEORGE MEREDITH, ESQ. A.M.

OF BRAZENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1829.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

TO

THE BARON ULRIC DE KOSKULL,

CHAMBERLAIN AND AIDE-DE-CAMP TO HIS MAJESTY
THE KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY, LIEU-
TENANT COLONEL IN THE ROYAL STAFF
CORPS, KNIGHT OF THE MILITARY
ORDER OF THE SWORD,
&c. &c. &c.

My dear Baron,

I beg to dedicate to you a Volume which derives from your friendship all that it contains of interest and of value. You are the person to whom I am indebted for the documents of which it principally consists; and to the many agreeable hours which, during my visit to Stockholm, I passed in your company and in that of our excellent and patriotic friend, Baron

Fleming, I owe the greater part of the information which may illustrate them.

If this Publication tend to make my countrymen better acquainted with the character of Sweden and its Monarch, I shall have accomplished all that I can wish, and more than I can hope.

I beg to subscribe myself, my dear Baron, with the highest consideration,

Your very obliged friend,

And very faithful servant,

WILLIAM GEORGE MEREDITH.

London, June, 1829.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction	1
Schemes of Baron Goertz	2
Sweden previous to 1808	3
Invasion of Finland by Russia	4
Peace with Russia	11
Treaty of Fredericshamn	12
Change in the Swedish Policy	13
Last port in the Baltic closed against Great Britain	14
Continental System	16
Election of Bernadotte	17
Irritation of Napoleon	18
Sweden Declares War	20
Wisdom of the British Cabinet	21
Application to Napoleon	22
Violence of the French Government	24
French Ministers dismissed	25
Organized System of Diplomatic Insult on the part of France	26
Conduct of Sweden	30

Page

Approach of the Great Crisis 31
The French invade Pomerania . . . 32
Sweden applies to Russia 34
Declaration of the French 35
Last Letter of the Crown Prince to the Emperor Napoleon 37
Norway and Finland 39
Alliance with England 41
The Swedish Army 43
Sweden obtains Norway 44
Peace of Kiel 45
Convention of Moss 46
State of Sweden 47
Her skilful Policy 48
A Peninsular Kingdom 49
Impolicy of her ancient Continental System . . 50
Natural Alliances 54
Co-operation of Sweden—why desired by Napoleon 55
Union with Norway 57
Its consequences on Sweden . . . 58
The general Security of Sweden the Guarantee of her Repose 59
The present Policy of Sweden ascertained . 70
Sweden a Naval Power 78
Influence of Russia in the Baltic . . . 80
Necessity of a Neutral Power in the Baltic . . 82
Duties of a Neutral Power . . . 85
Station of a Neutral Power 86
Remarks 87
The King 89
Conclusion 91

MEMORIALS OF CHARLES JOHN.

PART I.

	Page
Speech of the Crown Prince	95
Letter to the King	96
Speech of the Crown Prince to the Deputation of the States	98
Reception at Stockholm	100
Address of the Crown Prince to the King and the States General of the Kingdom	101
The Crown Prince to the Emperor Napoleon	106
Speech of the Crown Prince at the close of the Diet	110
Speech of the Crown Prince in the Academy of Military Sciences	112
Address to a Deputation of the University of Upsala	114
Speech of the Crown Prince in the Academy of Sciences	115
The Crown Prince to the Emperor Napoleon	117
Disturbances at Vermdön	125
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputation from Roslagen	129
——To the Deputies of the Bank	132
From the Baron D'Engeström to the Baron De Cabre	135
From the Baron De Cabre to the Baron D'Engeström	136
State of the Nation in 1812	137
The Crown Prince to the Emperor Napoleon	148
Speech of the Crown Prince on receiving a Medal from the Academy of Sciences	150

Page
The Crown Prince to the Emperor Alexander . . 151
The Crown Prince to the Emperor Napoleon . 153
Opening of the Diet in 1812 156
To the Duc de Bassano 159
Speech of the Crown Prince on the closing of the Diet 166
Education of Prince Oscar 170
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Students of Upsala 179
Academy of Agriculture 180
The Duc de Bassano to M. D'Ohsson . . 185
The Crown Prince to the Emperor Napoleon . 190
Proclamation of the Crown Prince to the Army of the Interior 199
——— to the combined Army of the North of Germany 200
The Crown Prince to the Marshal the Prince of the Moskwa 203
Proclamation to the Saxons . . . 205
——— to the Duke of Sudermania . . 206
——— to the French . . . 207
——— to the Swedish Army . . . 209
——— of the Crown Prince to the Army . 211
Proclamation to the Norwegians . . . 213
The Crown Prince to the Deputies of the Storthing 218
Proclamation of the Crown Prince to the Army . 219
Speech of the Crown Prince in the Storthing . 220
Speech of the Crown Prince at the close of the Storthing 224

PART II.

From the General Peace, 1814, to the Close of the last Diet 231

Page

Speech of the Crown Prince to the Members of the Academy of Agriculture 237
General View of the Campaign 238
Agriculture 242
Speech of the Crown Prince on the Opening of the Diet, 1815 245
Answer of the Crown Prince to the States General . 249
Napoleon and Charlemagne 251
Results of the War 252
Defiance to Intriguers 253
Speech of the Crown Prince on the Close of the Diet, 1815 254
Commerce 258
The Peasantry 259
The Crown Prince to Monsieur Catteau . . 260
Gustavus Adolphus 261
Speech of the Crown Prince in the Academy of Agriculture 262
Intrigues against the Succession 265
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputies of the Burgesses of Stockholm 268
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputies of the Order of Peasants 272
Speech of the Crown Prince at the Krigsbefal . 273
The Army Indelta 274
Answer of the Crown Prince to a Body of Merchants of the City of Stockholm 277
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputies of the Bank 280
Speech of the Crown Prince in the Council of the State 283

Page
Practical Advice to a Prince 283
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputies of the Town of Orebro 295
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputies of the States General 296
Answer of the Crown Prince to a Deputation from the Province of Malmöhus 300
Answer of the Crown Prince to the Deputation of the States General . . . . . *ib.*
Answer of the Crown Prince to a Deputation of the States 302
Proclamation of the King to the Inhabitants of Sweden, on ascending the Throne 303
Answer of the King to a Deputation from the University of Upsala 307
The Coronation 309
Answer of the King to the Deputies of the Storthing 311
Oath of Allegiance 312
Speech of the King on the Close of the Diet, in 1818 314
Answer of the King to the Four Orders of the Kingdom 320
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Nobility . 323
Answers of the King to Deputations of the Norwegian Storthing 324
Answer of the King to the Deputies of the States General 330
Answer of the King to the Grand Governor . . 331
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Province of Malmöhus 333
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Academy of Lund 335

Page

Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Province of Dalecarlia 336
Answer of the King to a Deputation of Dalecarlian Peasants 338
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Province of Gefleborg 339
Answer of the King to the Directors of the Works of the Canal of Södertelge 340
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Four Orders of Upland 343
Answer of the King to the University of Upsala . 345
Answer of the King to the Magistrates and the Burgesses of Upsala 347
Answer of the King to the Members of the Society of Forges 348
Answer of the King to the Members of the Academy of Lund 350
Answer of the King to the Deputies of the States General 352
Speech of the King at the Opening of the Norwegian Storthing 354
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Royal Academy of Sciences 357
Speech of the King on the Institution of the Royal Court for Seania and Bleking 359
Answer of the King to the Norwegian Storthing . 361
Speech of the King at the Close of the Storthing . 363
Answer of the King to the Swedish and Norwegian Councils of State 367
Speech of the King at the Academy of Agriculture 369

Page

Answer of the King to the Clergy and the Magistrates of Norrköping 371
Speech of the King on the Opening of the Storthing 372
Speech of the King on the Opening of the Canal of Gotha 374
Speech of the King to the Society of Agriculture . 376
Answer of the King to the Storthing of Norway . 378
Answer of the King to a Deputation of the Storthing . 381
Speech of the King on the Close of the Storthing . 383
Speech of the King on the Opening of the States General 388
Answer of the King to the States General . 396
Threatened Assassinations of the King and Prince . 398
Coronation of the Queen 400
Speech at the Closing of the Secret Committee . 401
Speech of the King to the States General . 402
Fundamental Laws of Sweden 404
Canal of Gotha 405
Answer to the Deputations of the Four Orders at the Close of the Diet 407
Answer of the King to the Count de Brahe . 411
Speech at the Opening of the Storthing . . 412
Conflagration at Norrköping 416
University of Lund 417
Close of the Storthing, 1824 419
Speech delivered at the Sitting of the Academy of Agriculture 421

MEMORIALS,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL CHARACTER OF SWEDEN.

I. For nearly a century after the death of Charles the Twelfth, the genius of Sweden slumbered. That intrepid warrior, but unskilful statesman, had left the affairs of his kingdom in too complicated a state for the weak hands of his successors to disentangle them. Sovereign of a country, the capital of which he had not visited for years, he was too much engrossed by distant wars to attend to the intrigues, the distress, and the disorganization

which reigned at home. His name alone served to keep together the dilapidated edifice of the State, and that talisman removed, the whole empire had nearly fallen to ruin.

II. Those who study and compare the historical events of different periods, will discover a curious resemblance between the political schemes of the Baron Goertz, and the revolutions which have actually taken place, though with a slower operation, in these latter days in the Scandinavian empire. That crafty diplomatist had just quitted the Congress at the isle of Aland, and was bearing the preliminaries of the peace with Russia to Charles, when his progress was arrested by the news of the death of that monarch before Fredericshall. The fundamental articles of this treaty assured the union of Norway, and the restitution of the German provinces to Sweden; and in return, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia were to be formally ceded to Russia: a cession of no great importance, since the Czar was already in possession of them, and he not of a character lightly to part with what he had so hardly earned. As to Poland, Stanislaus was to be

re-instated. The result is well known: Goertz was arrested on a charge of high treason, and perished on the scaffold; the royal power in Sweden was materially abridged, and war was declared anew against Russia. This war was concluded, in 1721, by the peace of Nystad; when, as the Czar Peter frankly avowed, he obtained even more than he could have hoped for. Not only the provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, and Ingria, but also part of Finland, were ceded to Russia, by which that vast empire added to its dominions an extent of nearly three thousand square miles of territory.

III. From that period, to the fatal year of 1808, the annals of Sweden present nothing of interest except in their disasters. Internal troubles and unsuccessful wars reduced her to the last state of exhaustion. Her territory on the side of Russia encroached on, was threatened on the side of Norway; her German possessions were occupied by the French; her navies were destroyed, her finances and army were disorganized. During this gloomy period, the power of the State, successively transferred to different parties, alternated in strange vicissi-

tudes, not in the steady pursuit of any well-digested plan, but according as the rival orders of the kingdom obtained the ascendancy. Hence the form and spirit of the government were vacillating and unsettled. The military genius too of Scandinavia seemed to have fallen before Fredericshall; her armies were no longer disciplined by renowned tacticians, and her legions no longer carried that terror among their enemies, and that confidence of victory within themselves, which had once, under the great Gustavus, and the two Charles's, established on the surest foundation the military fame of Sweden. The fatal days of Willmanstrand and Fredericshamn, and the idle aggression which preceded the fruitless peace of Varela, stood arrayed against them: and the battle of Hoogland, though it promised a brighter æra to the Swedish flag, was a victory dearly bought, accompanied and followed by losses which their navy could ill afford to suffer, and which the government had not the means quickly to repair.

IV. Such was the state of Sweden, when a crisis arrived which seemed to threaten the

kingdom with entire dissolution: this was the invasion of Finland by Russia, in 1808, a movement which was one of the secret results of the deliberations between the two great monarchs of the North and the West of Europe at Tilsit. In one campaign, the political system of Russia had undergone a complete change; and the power which had expressed in the preamble of its treaty with England, in April 1805, "That the boundless ambition of the French Government, and the extreme influence which it desired to arrogate to itself, were the causes which deprived Europe of her peace, her independence, and her happiness," openly abandoned, in 1807-8, the very objects for which she had been subsidized by England, and for which she had fought at Eylau and Friedland. These were "the independence of the North of Germany, of Hanover, and Holland; the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia; the security of the kingdom of Naples, and the entire evacuation of Italy by the French troops; combined, moreover, with the establishment of a safe and moderate order of things on the continent of Europe generally." Whoever

will compare these objects with the Russian recognition of the kings and empires of the Napoleon dynasty in the peace of Tilsit, may be amused in observing the strange discordance. Certainly the deliberations of Tilsit, or the preceding combats, must have contained in them something very persuasive, to have effected in so short a time so singular an instance of political inconsistency.

But let us look for the motives of this aggression in the events which followed. Unfortunately for Sweden, the invasion of Finland was a measure equally agreeable to the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of France. The important acquisition of that country, with its fortresses and harbours, and its frontier coasts on the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, was a very principal object of the aggrandizing system of the Russian policy: and a favourable opportunity seemed now to present itself of effectually weakening what had often proved a troublesome, and once a very formidable neighbour. By the removal of the frontier to a distance from the Russian capital, and by throwing it back in a proportionate degree on the enemy's

centre, Sweden, thus closely hemmed in between two kingdoms, would naturally be crushed, and either dwindle into a dependent state, or at length be entirely absorbed in the Muscovite empire.

As regarded France, this measure seemed scarcely less desirable. Sweden, by the attachment to the British interests which she had exhibited during the war, had incurred the enmity of the great Emperor; while her situation, difficult of access, save in her Continental possessions, which were then in his power, had hitherto protected her from his invasion. The territorial aggrandizement of Russia at her expense, while it would be a propitious immolation to the ambition of Alexander, could excite no jealousy on the part of Napoleon. On the contrary, its results would to all appearances precisely coincide with the views of the Emperor of France. He would thus, by means of the arms of his ally, take vengeance on a refractory power, and obtain the accession of Sweden to his Continental system, so that every shore of the Baltic would be closed against British merchandize and shipping: an object this of the first importance in the system of policy on

which Napoleon then acted, and made a very principal article in all the treaties which were concluded, and the theme of all the decrees which were issued about that period.

Of the indifference which France exhibited on this occasion to the fate of the Swedish kingdom, and the aggrandizement of Russia, or rather of her pledged neutrality in all the proceedings relating to that operation, there is a most clear, and at the same time most curious proof in the answer returned by the Emperor Napoleon to the entreaties of Charles XIII. when the King, after having lost Finland, wrote to the Thuilleries, praying for the preservation to Sweden of the isles of Aland; the mockery of the answer was brief as it was bitter—"Apply to the Emperor Alexander; he is great and generous!"

The designs, however, which emanated from the alliance between the Russian and the French empires, as they could not long remain concealed, so they were not allowed to be effected without a struggle. The peace of Tilsit was signed in July 1807, and Great Britain was not slow in perceiving the new dan-

ger, which menaced her own commerce, and the kingdom of her ally. In February 1808, a treaty of subsidy was signed at Stockholm between Great Britain and Sweden, reciting in the preamble, that the consequences of the treaty of Tilsit between Russia and France unfolded themselves more and more, in such a manner as to threaten Sweden with a speedy invasion for the purpose of forcing her to accede to the French system. And accordingly, in each of the years 1808 and 1809, a subsidy of 1,200,000*l.* was granted to the King of Sweden, to be employed in putting in motion, and keeping on a respectable establishment, all his land forces, and such part as should be necessary of his fleets, and particularly of his flotilla. But Sweden, in her exhausted and reduced condition, was utterly incompetent to oppose the Russian armies single-handed, while dissension and discontent raging in the interior paralysed her powers of resistance. The plans, too, which were proposed by England for assisting her with troops and ships, were rendered fruitless, partly by the difficulties attending the execution of them, and partly by the extrava-

gant demands of the Swedish monarch relative to the terms on which they were to co-operate. Finland, therefore, vigorously invaded, while a powerful Danish force threatened Sweden on her Norwegian frontier, was quickly lost.

Meantime, in consequence of a combination of circumstances, now too generally known to require any narration, and which, fortunately, all tended to the same end, a rapid and bloodless revolution removed the reigning monarch from the throne. The States General, convened in the midst of the tumult of arms and invasion, digested a constitution, the same by which Sweden is now governed; the vacant throne was offered to the Duke of Sudermania, who accepted the new constitution on the 6th, and was crowned by the style of Charles XIII. in the cathedral of Stockholm, on the 29th of June, in the same year of 1809. By the resignation of Gustavus IV. and the conquest of Finland, Russia had succeeded in the object of the war, as far as she was concerned, and she lost no time in setting negotiations on foot to legitimate by treaty what she had acquired by force. An armistice was agreed upon at Umeo, be-

tween the Russian and Swedish Generals, Barclay de Tolly and Cronstedt, and a Plenipotentiary was sent from the Imperial Court to the Swedish head-quarters to negotiate a peace.

V. By the treaty, which was signed in consequence at Fredericshamn, September the 17th, 1809, all Finland, comprising the governments of Kymegärd, of Nyland, and Tavastehus, of Abo, and Biörneborg, with the islands of Aland, of Savolax, and Carelia, of Wasa, of Uleaborg, and part of Westrobothnia, as far as the river of Tornea, which forms the boundary of the two states, was ceded in full sovereignty to Russia. These boundaries were again more clearly defined in the following year; and the act of demarcation was concluded in November, by commissioners entrusted with powers for that purpose on the part of both Courts, and ratified at Stockholm and St. Petersburg, on the 5th of December. All matters were arranged to prevent any future causes of difference respecting the separation of properties, and the rights of free communication between the countries, which henceforth were to be two. By the treaty of Fredericshamn, also, the King of

Sweden farther engaged to make peace with France and Denmark, and promised to adhere to the Continental system, reserving, until the stipulations could be agreed upon with France, the right of importing salt, and such colonial produce "as was become by custom necessary to the inhabitants of Sweden."

This ambiguous expression, adroitly introduced in this article of the treaty, and which virtually annulled the clause which preceded it, was suffered to stand by Russia, who did not deem it necessary to incur the odium of a restriction, by which France alone would be benefited. But the French Government could not be prevailed upon to allow this stipulation to stand in the treaty which was signed at Paris, on the 6th of January, 1810, between France and Sweden. As far as regards territorial possession, this treaty, under all circumstances, may be considered sufficiently advantageous to Sweden, for Swedish Pomerania and the isle of Rugen, with their dependencies, were restored, and by the seventh article the Emperor Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of his possessions to the Swedish monarch. But the

great consequence of this treaty was an entire alteration of the policy of Sweden. The peace was declared common to the other Napoleon dynasties of Europe, which were formally acknowledged; namely, the Kings of Spain, of Sicily, and of Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine: and lastly, Sweden acceded entirely to the Continental system, renounced the right of purchasing colonial produce, which she had retained by the treaty of Fredericshamn, and reserved only the right of importing sufficient salt for the consumption of the country. Another treaty was also signed, in pursuance of the second article of the treaty of Fredericshamn, on the 10th of December, 1809, between Sweden and Denmark, at Jönköping.

VI. Thus was the last port in the Baltic closed against the ships and commerce of Great Britain; and the advancing fortune of Napoleon having by the treaty of Tilsit destroyed and swept away all the dispositions made by England in the coalition of 1805, completed the revolution of interests by the new engagements of Sweden with Russia and France. But in

those times one victory was of more avail than many treaties. There are moments when the dictates of political integrity, the objects of general interest, and the impulse of national feeling, must alike yield to necessity, and to the imperious call of self-preservation. "Un traité entre les souverains n'est souvent qu'une soumission à la necessité, jusqu'à ce que le plus fort puisse accabler le plus foible."

But in spite of the edicts which were fulminated from Berlin and Milan, notwithstanding the blockade of the coasts of a considerable portion of Europe by a military force, and in defiance of the decrees which had been published by the governments of Holland and of Prussia against commerce with England, the wants of the people, and the ready mart which they thus found for their own accumulated produce, had taught them to elude the strictest ordinances, and the severest preventions, even in the countries more directly within the sphere of the power and superintendence of the French Government.

But in Russia, which was more remote from

his influence, and less apprehensive of his power, the severity of the decrees of Napoleon was considerably relaxed: while the Swedish Government, fully aware of the injury which their commerce must sustain by a rupture with England, and not insensible, on the other hand, to the danger which menaced them from Russia and Denmark, aided by France, if they refused to embrace the Continental system, wavered between the choice of two evils. They temporized for awhile, and took no immediate measures to execute vigorously the conditions of the treaty of Paris. What they desired—for it was their real policy, but what Napoleon would never grant, was a state of strict neutrality. Such a measure would at once demolish his system, and render all his decrees completely futile. "There are no longer any neutrals; England acknowledges none, nor can I acknowledge them any longer." And at a later period, when the matter had given rise to some altercation between the Courts of Stockholm and Paris, he was instant in demanding "a state of open war or constant

friendship," by which last term he implied as absolute a compliance with all his regulations as he had enforced in Holland or Prussia.

VII. The consequences of this backwardness on the part of the Swedish Government soon became perceptible; a contraband trade was carried on to a great extent. and English goods abounded on the shores of Scania and Holland; while, to make the contrast the greater, the Danes, irritated by the invasion of 1807, equipped numerous cruisers, which intercepted English vessels, and were active in throwing shot and shells at the English convoys which passed the Castle of Cronberg.

These circumstances, and the ultimate objects of Sweden, could not long remain concealed from the active inquiries and penetrating eye of Napoleon: part was accurately reported, much greatly exaggerated, enough was true to give him fair cause for irritation. One small portion of the southern coast of Scandinavia was doing him more harm, to use his own expression, than five coalitions together.

VIII. While these seeds of dispute were daily ripening, one party rigorously demanding the

iteral execution of the conditions of the treaty of Paris, the other pleading their inability to go to war with England, when their magazines and arsenals were empty, and their treasury without money to equip a fleet, or organize an army; and representing the inevitable destruction of their trade in iron with America, and the loss of all the ships employed in that branch of commerce: a new character, and one destined to play an important part in the future history of Sweden, entered on the scene. The vacancy caused in the succession to the throne by the decease of the Crown-Prince, Christian Augustus de Holstein Augustenbourg, was supplied by the election of a French marshal, Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. He was chosen by the States-General, in the Diet of Örebro, on the 21st of August, and landed in Sweden on the 20th of October, 1810.

IX. Scarcely had the future monarch arrived, when he found it necessary to take a decided part in this disagreeable altercation with his former country. The Crown-Prince hesitated not to adopt that conduct which was

demanded by the interests of his new country, but not without sanguine hopes that, by his exertions, he might be able to reconcile all differences. In addition, however, to the rigorous demands of France, a new source of irritation speedily arose from the imperious behaviour of Baron Alguier, the French Minister at Stockholm. The Crown-Prince, in the first letter which he addressed to Napoleon, dated November 11th, 1810, complained of the severe instructions which that Minister had received: and it seems, that as long as he remained in Sweden, (from which he was finally removed on account of his offensive conduct to the officers of the Swedish Government,) he gave the Crown-Prince no reason to alter the opinion he had at first conceived of him.

X. Scarcely had the first conciliatory letter been sent, when a dispatch arrived from Baron Lagerbjelke, the Swedish Minister at Paris, detailing with minuteness a very stormy interview with Napoleon, who, in a disjointed and interrupted harangue of upwards of an hour, discoursed on a variety of subjects relating to the Continental system, complained bitterly that

he had been duped and cajoled by Sweden, protested that he would acknowledge no neutrals, and alluded strongly to the reports then in circulation, of the jealousy of Russia relative to his projects of dismembering that empire, by forcing the Swedes against her on one side, and the Saxons and Poles on the other, in order to re-erect in its original integrity the kingdom of Poland, of which the Grand-duchy of Warsaw was to form the nucleus. Finally, the Emperor demanded an open state of war, or of adhesion to his system; and called on Sweden formally to range herself on the side of England, against France and her Allies, or to unite with him against England. "If within five days after the official note has been presented by M. Alguier, the King has not resolved to be at war with England, M. Alguier shall set out immediately, and Sweden shall have war with France and her Allies. A maritime peace at any price!"

At the same time the Baron Alguier, in conformity with his instructions, presented an official note to the same effect, demanding an answer within five days, and declaring war in

the event of Sweden refusing to comply with the propositions which it contained.

XI. By this decisive step of Napoleon, marked with his characteristic firmness and energy, no alternative was left for Sweden, but to adopt on the instant some positive measure. Some severe regulations were framing at the time when these dispatches arrived, but the answer demanded must be categorical. War was accordingly determined on against England, and the commerce of Sweden was abandoned to the discretion of the British Cabinet. On the 17th of November, a declaration of war was published by the King of Sweden against the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, "in order to destroy in the most efficacious manner the doubts which had arisen touching the relations of his kingdom with England;" and all navigation, commerce, dispatch of mails, and other correspondence whatsoever, was prohibited. And on the 19th of the same month, a decree was published, commanding the seizure of all British ships, and of all ships coming from Great Britain or its colonies, or laden with their produce; prohibit-

ing the exportation of any such merchandize from Sweden to the ports on the Continent, and the importation of any colonial produce whatsoever; and directing search to be made for all contraband British, or colonial merchandize, imported into Sweden since the 14th of April in that year; reserving, however, to the King the right of determining what should be done therewith.

XII. The British Cabinet exhibited on this occasion much moderation and much adroitness. They were sufficiently aware of the disposition and the sentiments of the Cabinet of Stockholm, as well as of what was required by the interests of the nation, and they agreed in the necessity which urged the Swedish Government to this step. They therefore neither declaimed violently against a breach of faith, nor invoked the sanctity of treaties, but passed over the decrees without notice. They made no confiscations, and at a later period we find British ships of war convoying the Swedish merchantmen, and Swedish vessels, provided with British licences.

XIII. But, notwithstanding the considerate

policy of Great Britain, Sweden suffered severely. At one blow, the greatest portion of her revenue, arising from the customs, was swept away, and this at a time when the increase of the army and navy, necessary to a war establishment, called for an outlay on the part of the treasury of a sum of nearly 600,000*l.* The commerce, also, on which Sweden so greatly depended, and by means of which she exchanged her native produce for foreign manufactures and articles of utility or luxury, was reduced to a mere coasting trade, and her intercourse with America was rendered precarious and difficult.

XIV. In this emergency, the Crown-Prince, in two letters of the 8th and 19th of December, 1810, applied to the Emperor Napoleon for assistance. He described the exhausted state of the country, and the necessity of peace for Sweden, to recruit her losses, to arrange her finances, and to re-organize her military system. Instead of this, in compliance with the Imperial demand, she had declared war; she, who had not a single battalion ready to march, no material in her arsenals or magazines, and

not a dollar in her treasury. He reminded the Emperor of the constant friendship which had subsisted between the two countries ever since the alliance concluded between Francis the First and Gustavus Vasa, and of the desire by which Sweden was still animated that that harmony might be continued. But without assistance from France, Sweden was unable to move, and for that assistance the Crown-Prince in these two letters urgently applied,—"We offer you arms and iron, and we ask of you in return those means which Nature has refused to us."

XV. No answer was ever received, nor any notice taken of these applications; in fact, the subsidizing system appears never to have entered into the notions of the French Government, unless, indeed, the quartering of a body of troops on a country can come under that denomination. Sweden, in the past century, had been subsidized by France for preserving neutrality, but her present forced state of war did not seem to call for such assistance. The only offer of the kind was made by Napoleon in 1812, when, among various other much less

palatable conditions, he promised to purchase colonial produce of Sweden to the amount of twenty millions of francs.

At present, however, instead of any direct answer to the application of the Crown-Prince for assistance, a series of propositions and demands on the part of the French Government were made by the French Minister, Baron Alguier, of the most extravagant nature, and aiming to incorporate Sweden with the great Continental Confederation, which at that time unhesitatingly obeyed the despotic impulse of Napoleon.

A body of four thousand seamen was demanded to serve in the French fleet at Brest; the demand was refused, on the grounds of being contrary to the letter of the constitution: a confederation of the North, between Sweden, Denmark, and the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, the nucleus contemplated for the future kingdom of Poland, was also proposed, but declined on the part of the Swedish Government. At length, in July 1811, in addition to the disagreeable instructions, by virtue of which he acted, the behaviour of the French Minister having

become personally offensive, his recall was formally demanded, and he was replaced by M. de Cabre; who was, however, rather unceremoniously dismissed in December 1812, for conduct which, in an official paper of a Swedish Minister of that period, is stigmatized as being "rather less in accordance with the law of nations than is usually conceded to ambassadors." Of Baron Alguier, besides the complaints made against him by Baron Engeström, the Crown-Prince, in his letter to Napoleon of the 24th March 1812, expressly states that "that Minister hurt the national pride, and that his arrogance spoilt every thing. His communications bore no mark of that respect which crowned heads mutually owe one another; and by fulfilling the intentions of Napoleon as his own passions dictated to him, he spoke in the style of a Roman proconsul, without recollecting that it was not to slaves that he was addressing himself."

XVI. In this behaviour of the French Ministers at Stockholm, if we connect it with the expressions frequently used, and the temper usually exhibited by Napoleon himself, and with

the events which afterwards took place, it will be by no means difficult to trace an organized system of insult, which was then merely suspected, but which at this distance of time, when we can connect facts and compare them, appears sufficiently evident to claim a place in history. Both the measures and the actions of the Swedish Government, and the person of the individual who took the principal part in the affairs of that Government, had roused the enmity of the French Emperor. He was conscious of the decline of French influence in the Cabinet of Stockholm, but it was too late to stem the tide, and the means which were adopted were ill advised and ineffectual. His feelings with regard to the Crown-Prince may be collected at once from the expressions which fell from his lips when that personage was on the point of quitting France for his new country. "We have not understood each other; now it is too late: he has his own interests, his own policy, and I have mine."*

* "Napoléon, devenu plus rigide dans son système continental, à mesure qu'il voyait approcher la dêtresse de l'Angleterre, exigea une fermeture plus exacte des ports de la

Of such sentiments, the behaviour of the French Ministers in their relations with the Swedish Government were manifestly the echo; for a minister takes his tone from the dispositions of his court; and he is arrogant and pompous, or courtly or servile, as the spirit of the power which he represents is transmitted to him, bearing the impress of its designs, of its apprehensions, or of its contempt.

True it is, that there are insulated examples

Suède, à laquelle il ne laissa que l'option d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre ou avec la France. *Ces exigeances si impolitiques* contre une puissance independante, *provenaient en partie de son mécontentement contre Bernadotte*, proclamé l'année précédente, par la volonté unanime des Etats, Prince Royal, et successeur héréditaire du Roi Charles XIII. Croyant même pendant quelques mois qu'il le tiendroit en Suède forcément dans l'orbite de sa politique, il adressa notes sur notes, injonctions sur injonctions, au gouvernement de Charles XIII, pour qu'il tint ses ports rigoureusement fermés au commerce Anglais. Irrité de ce qu'on ne se pressait pas assez de remplir ses vues, il fit enlever par ses corsaires les navires Suédois chargés de merchandizes coloniales, et persista dans l'occupation de la Poméranie. Des griefs reciproques s'étant ainsi établis, Napoléon donna de nouvelles inquiétudes au gouvernement dont Bernadotte était devenu l'espoir et l'arbitre. Toute l'année 1811 se passa en altercations entre les deux Etats."— Mémoires de Fouchè, Duc d'Otrante, tome ii. p. 82.

of a very reverse behaviour: we are told of the fiery Buckingham giving the lie to Olivarez; but on that occasion the individual impulses of the man burst through the measured feelings of the diplomatist; and we know also that an indiscreet envoy may misrepresent and thwart the fairest intentions of his government, as did the maladroit De Brezé, when he drew on himself the lofty rebuke of the great Gustavus at Mentz. But in the case before us, it is not one incident, or the tone and actions of one minister, that strike us; there is a succession of men, but an unity of conduct, which forces us to conclude that the French Ministers at the Court of Stockholm, represented rather the passions of their sovereign, than the dignity of his empire. We first notice the mysterious behaviour of M. Desaguiers, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, presenting a note in favour of the King of Denmark, the rival candidate for the succession to the Swedish throne. The action was disavowed, and M. Desaguiers was recalled; but "they had sacrificed an innocent man."* Next comes the extraordinary

* A confession of the Duc de Cadore to M. Lagerbjelke,

behaviour of M. Alguier, and we shall afterwards find M. de Cabre, the successor of M. Alguier at Stockholm, dismissed for practices still more unaccountable than those of either of his predecessors. It is a lamentable fact, and one of too frequent occurrence in the diplomatic intercourse between nations, that the office of ambassador, than which, by the common consent, and for the common benefit of all, none is more sacred, none more dignified, none more inviolable, should be too often exercised in direct perversion of the very principles on which that inviolability and those immunities are founded. We have recently had a most striking example of this in the revolutionary history of one of the States of the Western hemisphere.

XVII. The animosity of the French Government was farther unequivocally exhibited in the unlimited scope given to cruisers, and in the systematic injustice of the officers who presided in the French prize-courts. At

the Swedish Minister at Paris. My only authority for this anecdote is a paper, No. VI. in the Appendix to Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.

the opening of the season of 1811, the seas were swept by privateers, and during this year more than fifty Swedish merchantmen were captured by vessels bearing the friendly flags of Denmark and France. Complaints and representations were made by the Swedish Minister at Paris, but no redress was obtained, for at no time in the course of these proceedings did it seem to form part of the policy of the French Cabinet, either to return categorical answers, or to proffer amicable satisfaction; abundance of peaceful protestations without any object, but all the rest was mystery and darkness. The French prize-courts, therefore, still persisted in making unwarrantable awards, while those judgments which were favourable to Sweden were never confirmed by the French Government.

XVIII. The Swedish Government, finding their remonstrances ineffectual, and that it was useless to look to Paris for redress, in December 1811, took the defence of their commerce into their own hands; and in consequence the Mercury, a French privateer, which had long infested their coasts, was seized and brought

into a Swedish port. This step taken to show their determination, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, M. d'Ohsson, by command of his Government, repeated his applications to the French Court, on the 15th of January, by an official note, stating what had happened, and what Sweden desired as a guarantee for the future. This, however, shared the fate of many other similar pieces, and never received an answer.

XIX. While affairs were in this situation, and the relations were daily becoming more embroiled between Sweden and France, the great crisis which agitated all Europe in the year 1812, was approaching, and both parties were beginning to take their measures, and to array their forces for the momentous struggle. Whether the invasion of Pomerania arose from a determination to bring matters between Sweden and France to an issue, or from a consciousness of the danger of leaving a territory of doubtful adhesion on the flank, and eventually in the rear of his operations; or whether we must seek for the cause in a personal enmity of long standing on the part of the French Emperor against the

Crown-Prince, as some have positively asserted, it is difficult to discover, though, doubtless, there are many still alive to whom the causes of the transactions are not unknown. On the 27th of January, 1812, a division of the army of Marshal Davoust, Prince of Eckmuhl, under General Friant, entered Pomerania, which, together with the Isle of Rugen, was presently reduced, and the whole occupied by the French troops.

On intelligence of this invasion being received at Stockholm, a note was addressed to M. de Cabre, the French Chargé d'Affaires, then resident in that capital, demanding an explanation; but M. de Cabre professed ignorance, and returned no farther answer. M. d'Ohsson, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, addressed one note more to the same effect to the Duc de Bassano. In reply, he was asked whether his note was presented in consequence of official orders from his Court, and apprized that it was necessary to wait for such orders before any answer could be given. They were accordingly dispatched from Stockholm, on the 4th and 7th of February, and were confined to the de-

mand of a frank explanation of the intentions of the Emperor Napoleon, relative to the occupation of Pomerania. On the 11th also of that month, a letter on the same subject was addressed to the Emperor himself by the Prince-Royal. The former never reached their destination; neither of the three were ever answered; and it now appeared but too clearly to be the object of the French Court to prevent all communication, and their intention to give no satisfaction for the outrage which had been committed.

XX. At length came M. de Signeul, on a sort of demi-official mission, bringing no explanation, but fresh proposals on the part of the French Government of a very extraordinary nature. The following were the two principal bases. Firstly, a fresh declaration of war against England was demanded, and that offensive measures should be taken against English shipping in the Cattegat and the Baltic: and, secondly, that Sweden should levy an army of forty thousand men to operate against Russia on the side of Finland, the recovery of which to Sweden was held out as an indem-

nification. But M. de Signeul arrived too late, for the resolution of Sweden had been already taken. Early in March, the Count de Löwenhielm had been dispatched to St. Petersburgh, bearing a letter from the Crown-Prince to the Emperor Alexander, announcing the invasion of Pomerania, describing the unnatural and distressed state of Europe, and invoking the interference of that monarch. A treaty was in consequence concluded on the 24th of the same month between Russia and Sweden.

M. de Signeul, therefore, returned to Paris from his ineffectual mission, carrying with him the last letter from the Crown-Prince to Napoleon, which bore even the semblance of friendship. But even here, no adjustment of the disputes between the two countries was hinted at, while his Royal Highness declared that Sweden had been necessitated to take precautions against the storm which was ready to burst over the Continent. The approaching general war was the subject of his appeal to the humanity of Napoleon; and with that view he made an offer, which he could not doubt would not be accepted, to be the proposer of the pos-

sibility of an accommodation between him and the Emperor Alexander.

XXI. Long after this, in the February of the ensuing year, subsequent to the campaign of 1812, and at a time when the alliance of Sweden would have been of vital importance to the French arms, an official note was addressed to M. d'Ohsson, by the Duc de Bassano, which originated in the former having verbally demanded his passports, and declared that, his Court not having yet received any explanation touching the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, he considered that diplomatic relations were thenceforth without an object. In this note, which bears the signature of the Duc de Bassano, but which everywhere discovers the commanding hand, and betrays the private feelings of his Imperial master, Sweden is again charged with the breach of the treaty of Paris of 1810, and with the seizure of the French privateers, which was alleged by Napoleon as the cause of the invasion of Pomerania. This, however, must be considered rather as a pretext than a cause; as the French had, by a variety of movements, sufficiently demonstrated their intentions

against that province several months before the seizures took place. Nor can we suppose that a Government, actuated by amicable motives, or guided by the dictates inspired by the laws of nations, would assume as the cause of a war, an action of justifiable violence committed by a friendly power in defence of their merchant shipping against pirates rather than privateers, who had been supported by the country to which they pretended to belong, in exceeding the powers of their *letters of marque*, and who by abusing the very flag which they ought to have protected, tarnished the honour of their own. The authorized communications of M. de Signeul are next alluded to, and the "outrageous" demand of Norway by Sweden is set down as the cause of their fruitlessness. The remainder of the note is principally occupied by allusions to the part taken by the King of Sweden during the wars of the Revolution, and a most artful attempt made by charging the Crown-Prince with "private enmities, violent passions, and ill-directed ambition," to raise in the mind of the King of Sweden doubts as to the policy which the Prince was

then following, and suspicions of the motives by which he was directed. The writer concludes by declaring that Napoleon would do every thing in his power to avoid the *éclat* of an open rupture. This produced the celebrated letter addressed by the Crown-Prince to the Emperor Napoleon, of the date of March 23rd, 1813, and which amounted, on the part of Sweden, to a positive declaration of war.

XXII. This able composition, which may be not inaptly denominated an epistolary manifesto, and which put an end to all farther communications between Sweden and France, embraces a variety of subjects, and minutely answers all the charges emanating from Napoleon through the medium of the official letter of the Duc de Bassano. It is replete with reflections and allusions, which must have been gall to the bitter spirit of the Emperor: it indignantly abandons all the attempts which the Crown-Prince had so long and so fruitlessly made to gain his confidence and his friendship, and bids him to look to the good dispositions of the Emperor Alexander and the British Cabinet for peace. No hopes now re-

mained of a partial pacification ; the cause of Sweden was intimately connected with the policy of Russia and England, and to them must the Emperor Napoleon resort.

XXIII. Since the invasion of Pomerania, Sweden had lost no time in consolidating her connections with those Courts whose assistance would be the most effective in aiding her against France, and whose ulterior alliance would be the most lastingly important to her interests. Napoleon held out the forlorn hope of the restitution of Finland, but Russia engaged to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden, and to guarantee the peaceable possession of it to that Crown. A like demand, with respect to Norway, had been proposed to France, through M. de Signeul, but it was rejected with indignation, and the Duc de Bassano termed it "an outrage." In his answer to this particular, the Crown-Prince in his last-mentioned letter says, "that Sweden, convinced that it was only to you, Sire, that she owed the loss of Finland, could never believe in your friendship for her, unless you obtained her Norway as an indemnification for the mis-

chief which your policy had done her." We have before stated our conviction of the justness of this remark, nor, perhaps, is any farther proof of its truth necessary. The Duc de Rovigo, however, in his Memoirs recently published, acknowledges the fact with a frankness and honesty so impressed with the stamp of truth, that we are induced to record it. "The fact is," says that writer, "that after having relinquished the immense advantages which the war had given us over the Russians, and done so for no other purpose than to obtain their alliance, we failed of securing it, *although we had sacrificed to them the Turks and Swedes, our natural allies;* and we were now forming a connection with the Austrians, who appeared to be our irreconcileable enemies."

Whether the union with Norway compensated Sweden for the loss of Finland and her Continental possessions, we shall shortly take occasion to examine; the question at present is, which party Sweden (allowing her the right of election, which is undeniable) was justified by the rules of sound policy in adopting. Independent of a variety of other considera-

tions, which the actual state of Europe, the possible chances of the war, the general as well as the political interests of the country, and last, though, we believe, much the least, some mixture of personal feeling suggested, the recovery of Finland would leave Sweden at the end of the war in a worse condition than her present one. She would then have a frontier of more than one hundred and fifty leagues, at a considerable distance from the centre of her force, to defend against a power far superior to her in strength and in resources, and whose means were as unlimited as her ambition would be obstinate. She could expect nothing less than to be involved on the first opportunity in a war against this powerful and ambitious neighbour, for the possession of a province which she had herself formally ceded and secured to that neighbour by treaties. And in case of her recovering it, by whom would it be guaranteed? By France, a mighty empire, and powerful, it is true, but very distant, and whose means of annoying Russia in her own territory had even before the year

of 1812 been proved to be somewhat insufficient.

But by the measures which Sweden adopted, she retained her boundary line of coast on the Gulf of Bothnia, while the river of Tornea, by a natural limit, divided her territories at the narrowest part of the peninsula from the Russian empire. She at once procured protection for her shipping and activity for her commerce, by an alliance with the greatest maritime power on the ocean, and she joined her arms to a confederation of mighty empires animated by the enthusiasm which burst forth on the breaking of the spell, which had so long enchained Europe.

XXIV. On the 15th of August, 1812, the ports of Sweden were thrown open to vessels of all flags and nations, with certain restrictions and reservations in favour of Swedish shipping.

XXV. On the 18th of July, the friendly relations, which had scarcely been severed, were renewed by the treaty of Örebro between Sweden and Great Britain, who pledged her-

self to assist the former in securing the safety and independence of her states. By the treaty of concert and subsidy, signed at Stockholm between the same powers, March 3d, 1813, the King of Sweden engaged to employ a force of thirty thousand men to act in concert with the Russian troops, placed under the command of the Crown-Prince, in conformity with the arrangements made to that effect in the preceding year between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburgh. And the King of Great Britain engaged on his part to furnish a subsidy of one million sterling, for the service of the campaign of the year; and acceded formally to the conventions existing between Russia and Sweden, relative to the union of Norway.

XXVI. The two preceding years had been diligently employed in organizing the Swedish army, which had been increased, in April, 1812, to sixty thousand men, ready to march. In May 1813 the Crown-Prince, with his Swedes, crossed over to Stralsund to await the arrival of the Russian troops, which were to join him. He took the precaution, however, to

leave two divisions of the Swedish army, under the command of Marshals Toll and Essen, to observe the Norwegian frontier.

It was not till after the conclusion of the armistice of Pleiswitz, on the 10th of August, that the Crown-Prince took the field, at the head of an army of about eighty thousand men, Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, concentrated in the neighbourhood of Berlin, besides the detached corps of Prussians under Hirschfeld, and the army of observation on the Lower Elbe, under the Count de Wallmoden, whose advanced posts extended as far as Dassow, opposite Lubeck. The active part which this army, called the "Combined Army of the North of Germany," took in the campaign of 1813, is too well known to all who have interested themselves in the events of that time to require notice.

XXVII. After the memorable battle of Leipsic, the Crown-Prince directed his operations against the French, who still remained under the command of the Prince of Eckmuhl, on the North of the Elbe, and against the Danish forces in Holstein. When the armistice

of Renzbourg was concluded, on the 15th of December, for fourteen days, between the army under the command of the Crown-Prince and the Danish troops, the Combined forces had occupied Holstein and part of Schleswic, as far as the line between Eckernforde and Husum. This armistice was afterwards prolonged till the 7th of January, 1814, when the Danish Government having rejected the basis of pacification which was offered, hostilities were recommenced. Fredericsort and Gluchstadt, which were excepted from the operation of the armistice, had capitulated on the 19th of December and the 5th of January, and Renzbourg was closely invested, when the peace of Kiel was at length concluded, and signed on the 14th of January. It is not strange, that the King of Denmark, as long as there was the most distant prospect of success for his arms, should have been unwilling to accede to a treaty by which he would lose a country containing upwards of a million of inhabitants. The resolution to deprive him of Norway, indeed, formed the principal difficulty in the negotiations for peace; for the attachment of Denmark to the

French party was but lukewarm, and the King had at an early period in the campaign manifested an inclination to side with the Allied powers. But the dismemberment had been resolved upon, and opposition was useless, for the star of Napoleon was now waning. By the peace of Kiel, the King of Denmark engaged to supply a body of troops to the Allied powers, formally ceded Norway, and resigned all future pretensions to that kingdom in favour of the King of Sweden; he received in return Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen. These provinces, however, did not long remain under his dominion, but were incorporated by an act of the Congress of Vienna with the Prussian empire.

Thus the second object of the conventions of St. Petersburgh and Abo, namely, the union with Norway, being effected, the Crown-Prince conducted his troops to the banks of the Rhine. But it was destined that the union of the two kingdoms should not take place without a farther struggle. Prince Christian Frederic, the heir-presumptive to the crown of Denmark, and Governor-General of the kingdom of Norway, placed himself at the head of the

Norwegian troops, and resisted the delivering up of the fortresses to Sweden, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Kiel. A Diet assembled at Eidswold, and began to busy themselves in framing a constitution. But a short campaign, everywhere in favour of the Swedish arms, terminated on the 14th of August by the armistice and convention of Moss, by which a general amnesty was granted to all persons engaged in the resistance, and Prince Christian withdrew with dignity from his anomalous kingdom. The King of Sweden, on his part, promised to accept the constitution of the Diet of Eidswold, with only such modifications as the union of the two kingdoms might render necessary. A storthing was in consequence assembled at Christiania: they digested the constitution for Norway, which was ratified on the 4th of November, confirming the union of the two kingdoms, and assuring the crown of Norway to Charles the Thirteenth, and his successors.

XXVIII. And thus, by pursuing a steady and skilful system of policy through troublous times and in trying circumstances, did Sweden

not only raise herself from the lowest and most perilous state of her fortunes, but by a happy combination of events found herself, at the end of the long and doubtful strife which shook the Continent, restored to that rank among the nations of the North, which, by a long series of misgovernment, and military disasters, she appeared to have forfeited for ever. We have seen her at the commencement of the transactions, of which we have given a slight outline, thrown back from her eastern frontier by her mighty and ambitious neighbour the Russian, and menaced on the side of Norway by her ancient enemy the Dane, while her Continental possessions were occupied by the armies of France. It was not the integrity only of her empire that was endangered, for that was already dismembered, but it was her very political existence as a nation that was at stake: she survived the storm, but the calm which ensued was little less perilous than the turbulence of the ocean. She found herself shackled with a treaty of peace, the conditions of which left her to balance between the utter ruin of her commerce, and a state of war with one who

was then known to be unvanquished, and was by all deemed invincible. The former alternative was hesitatingly chosen; but even that, fraught as it was with evil, did not avail to preserve her. Her friendly relations with France, too powerful to be an ally, and too interested to be a friend, were daily becoming more precarious, when she was rescued from the difficulties that beset her, by the approach of that grand crisis, wherein, vast as were the preparations and the strength exerted on either side, her situation and other circumstances made it of no inconsiderable importance into which scale Sweden might throw the sword.

She had now the choice of her own terms; she fought for the deliverance of Germany, and she emerged from that momentous struggle with a well-organized and victorious army, with new laurels added to her ancient crown, enrolled among the principal European powers by firm and honourable treaties; and having obtained, by the union of Norway, that compactness and independence of territory, which many great statesmen in Sweden had frequently, though vainly projected; and which of itself more effectually than treaties guaran-

tees the security and glory of the Northern Peninsula.

The result which was thus brought about, namely, the final abandonment by Sweden of the last of her Continental possessions, and the formation of one great peninsular kingdom, by the union of the two Scandinavian nations, had been operating in a variety of revolutions for upwards of a century. This change in the locality of her territories must of necessity be accompanied by a corresponding alteration in the system of her policy, and in the nature of her relations.

When Charles the Twelfth ascended the throne of Sweden, he had the undisputed sovereignty over many fair possessions, extending along the shores of the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland, from the Duchy of Bremen and Verden to the Provinces of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia. They had been won in their Continental wars by his warrior predecessors, but principally by the great Gustavus; they were guaranteed by treaties, but more especially by the terror inspired by the Swedish arms. That magnanimous and brave, but extravagant

and impolitic monarch, by his obstinate perseverance in measures wildly suggested, not by zeal for the welfare of his country, not even by ambition of conquest, but by motives purely private and personal, during twenty years spent in affording a lesson to his descendants, and in depriving them of the means of profiting by the severe instruction, succeeded in destroying the charm by which Sweden had hitherto held her sway among the nations of the Continent. Careless of events in his own kingdom, which he left to be regulated by a regency, and defended by raw recruits, he was so intent on his extravagant projects in Poland, that he looked with indifference on the progress of the Czar in Carelia and Finland, until the time arrived when that monarch, by unwearied and undaunted perseverance, learnt to beat his conqueror, and displayed sufficient power to retain the possession of that territory which he had been suffered to gain by the complacent contempt of his royal adversary. From the moment of the battle of Pultawa, Sweden began to feel the difficulties attending her Continental relations. "In large bodies the circulation of power must be less

vigorous at the extremities;"—and here was a country, with no less than four millions of inhabitants, mistress of provinces dispersed along a line of three hundred and fifty leagues, everywhere intersected and intermixed with kingdoms, all of which separately and collectively aimed at their appropriation. Russia, Poland, Prussia, Mecklenbourg, Hanover, and Denmark, each had its project. With these surrounding powers, Sweden must without fail be perpetually brought into collision. Straggling duchies, and insulated cities, might form good têtes-de-pont for the invasions of victorious armies, but not the most consummate general could devise a plan by which they could be simultaneously defended. Moreover, Sweden now began to feel the difference between a war of invasion, which feeds itself by contributions, and by other less legitimate plunder, and a war of defence, which drained money and troops from the mother country, already exhausted by twenty years of war, and with her finances reduced to the lowest state of insolvency.

France had been the ally of Sweden from the date of the first treaty between Francis

the First and Gustavus Vasa, in 1542; and down to a very late period this connexion was considered a natural alliance. As long as Sweden from the North, and France from the South, could by their union hem in the powers of the Empire between the Oder, or even the Elbe and the Danube, the alliance might have been natural; for it was advantageous to France in her views for preserving the due balance in Europe, and honourable also to Sweden. But the politicians who advocated this alliance in later times, forgot, or pretended to forget, the total changes which a century and a half, since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, had effected in the kingdoms of Europe. They followed the systems of that monarch and of Richelieu, without inheriting the motives or the prospects of either of them, and without reflecting on the want of analogy in their relative situations. Many an alliance outlives the causes which gave it birth, and reminiscences and ancient feelings enchain those whom true policy would sever. Thus was it in the present case. In the course of a century and a half the Muscovite empire, long considered in the light of an

Asiatic power, had increased immeasurably in proportion to its original bulk, and had become active and formidable in Continental affairs: the genius of Frederic the Second had erected Prussia into a powerful kingdom: Austria had greatly consolidated her States: and all three kingdoms had jointly strengthened themselves on the spoils of dismembered Poland. In proportion as they advanced towards maturity, the Continental influence of Sweden declined: the balance between France and Austria had been thrown into the hands of other and greater powers. But notwithstanding the loss of many of her provinces, the possession of Pomerania, with the Isles of Rugen and Usedom, and the port of Wismar, necessarily, though fruitlessly, involved Sweden in the Continental struggles, and diverted her attention to foreign affairs, from what concerned her much more nearly at home. With her diminished forces and influence, it was a fruitless attempt to prevent the remaining provinces from being absorbed. Still Sweden persevered: she dreamed of a balance which had been long since destroyed, and the union of Norway

no longer haunted her visions, as it did those of Gustavus and of Charles. Those of her original ideas were preserved, which the course of events should have taught her counsellors to forget, while they seemed entirely to have abandoned those which, in the actual posture of affairs, were alone practicable or desirable. Until, therefore, she was relieved from the spell with which this once *natural alliance* bound her, Sweden was positively in an unnatural situation. The events of later times proved it. She was involved in a Continental policy in which she had no interest, and which cost her heavy sacrifices, with no prospect of future advantage. She was alternately dismembered with the consent of France, as a peace-offering to Russia, or urged by this same ancient ally against Russia and England; two out of the three nations whose friendship Nature points out to her principally to cultivate. And this connexion with France was called a natural alliance! No alliance could be more unnatural, or less advantageous to Sweden. The truth was at length apparent: Sweden deserted the policy of history, and adopted the policy of cir-

cumstance, the policy suggested by her actual situation. And what were the results? She was regenerated, and her happiness and her consequence were fixed on the solid foundation on which they now rest.

It will not, however, be a matter of difficulty to ascertain the reasons why Napoleon and his ministers persevered in representing the alliance with France in the favourable view which they gave to it. That great tactician had discovered that Russia, a mighty but an unwieldy power, would be greatly embarrassed by simultaneous invasion on two opposite frontiers. Perhaps his own experience in the Spanish Peninsula may have suggested the idea. But acting on this knowledge, he planned accordingly; and could all his combinations which he meditated have been put into execution, Russia would have been attacked at the same time by Sweden from the side of Finland, in the centre by the French and the Poles, and from the south by the Ottoman empire. In this light the co-operation of Sweden would have been of the last importance; but would the advantages which he promised to her have been permanent, and

and would her reward have been secure? We have shown before that they would not: for in all these designs there was this necessary fault, that France, by extending her directing influence so far in the North of Europe, had placed herself in a false position. She had no business there with her garrisons or her armies. Nature has interposed between France and Russia two vast empires, besides other smaller states; and notwithstanding one of them had been crippled in furtherance of his projects, the sequel of those preliminary proceedings proved the impracticability of the projects which Napoleon had prepared to execute, and which no one but himself could have dared even to conceive.

In case now of hostile attack, the Sweden of the present day need no longer look with apprehension to the instigated hostilities of her Norwegian brethren. United by their geographical position, by a similarity of interest, and therefore by a sympathy of sentiment, the Swede and the Norwegian cannot fail of perceiving that their former separation was alike

injurious to both. By their union they have acquired, on one side, constitutional liberty, and legitimate independence; and on the other, a national fraternization with those whom Nature herself has pointed out to be their brethren and fellow-citizens. Sweden, therefore, is now independent of Europe; and, as she has nothing to dread from the nations of the Continent, so neither is it her wish to interfere in their concerns, farther than the amicable relations mutually necessary and profitable to all nations, who would assist one another in the grand objects of preservation and improvement, may require. And therefore it was, that, in the last war, she fought and was victorious in the cause of liberty for the Northern States of Germany: their freedom and that of Europe was her object, but Norway was her guerdon. She knew that until a general and common pacification was obtained, she could never possess Norway with safety, and that, without Norway, there never could be repose or entire security for herself; she mingled her own cause in common with that of the other nations. The integrity of her territory,

and the Scandinavian union, was to form one clause in the re-edification of the social system of Europe.

Thus free and united, unfettered by a geographical incorporation with the States of the Empire of Germany, absolved from all connexion with that Confederation, the variety of whose interests and the intermixture of whose territories caused perpetual differences, Sweden is not, as formerly, borne by the tide of Continental systems winding round the subjects of political collision. Unembarrassed by the possession of distant points of attack, and free from the glance of ambition, she is secure and concentrated in herself. She may choose her part or stand aloof, she may interfere or persevere in preserving her neutrality with greater ease and dignity. She is not liable to be disturbed by paltry debates concerning the freedom of navigation of rivers, or the lines of military roads intersecting her territories; she does not see her towns garrisoned, and her provinces occupied by the friendly forces of an overwhelming neighbour. The outline of her kingdom is no imaginary line drawn through a lake with all

its entanglement of islands, or meandering among streams or over mountains. The Icy and Northern oceans, the Baltic sea, the Sound, and the Cattegat, guard her boundaries, and alike preclude all idea of aggrandizement on her part, and destroy all thoughts of aggression on the part of others. On the side of Russia alone she has a land frontier; but marked as it is by the course of rivers, and minutely set out in the act of demarcation of 1819, nothing but the most obstinate violation of the law of nations, could possibly tempt either party to meditate its transgression.

The general security of Sweden is the guarantee for her internal repose. The peasant cultivates his fields without any apprehension that the marching or countermarching of hostile or friendly armies will plunder his stores or trample over his crops. Hence, and from the especial protection accorded by the late and the present monarch to the different branches of agricultural industry, so great a progress has been made, that from being unable to supply herself with corn, as was the case not many years since, Sweden now annually grows suf-

ficient to leave a considerable surplus, after the quantity necessary for the year's consumption has been deducted.*

In the cities of Sweden, the merchant fears neither siege nor bombardment, nor that legitimate plunder, so often levied under the name of contributions on the cities of the Continent. And even most of her sea-port towns, lying as they do on the banks of arms of the sea, but at a considerable distance from the main, and

* An evil of considerable magnitude has arisen from this too plentiful production ; the overplus converted into spirituous liquor, is cheaply sold and drunk in great quantities by the lower orders, to such an extent as to weaken the constitutional strength, and greatly demoralize the general population. As the progress of this ruinous habit was observed and publicly noticed by the Crown-Prince, even so early as in his report to the King on his Majesty's resuming the government in 1812, it is fair to suppose that the increased production arising from the advancement and improvement of agriculture must have effected a corresponding increase in the consumption of those deleterious liquors. It has even affected the hardy and primitive Dalecarlians, the very core of the strength of Sweden. But as, where there is subsistence, there will always be population, and as the number of souls in Sweden has of late years greatly multiplied, the increased numbers of consumers will render useless and paralyse the distillery of spirituous liquors from grain, by the greater demand for it which must necessarily ensue.

well protected by fortifications to guard the entrance, are less liable to assault than those harbours which are scarcely a bomb-shot distance from the ocean.

To our English readers, whose shores have for so many centuries been unscathed by foreign invasion, and whose plains have never been the "seat of war," the advantages arising from internal tranquillity may not, perhaps, appear in so forcible a light. But let us for a moment put ourselves in the place of those nations who have found

> "Their long fair fields plough'd up as hostile ground,
> Disputed foot by foot;"

Let us identify ourselves with those people, unconcerned, perhaps, in the fray, but whose lands have been marked out as lists for the battle of contending armies, and we may perhaps feel the value of the great exemption. If we turn our eyes to the Continent of Europe, where shall we find a spot which has not, in its turn, been ravaged, trampled over, and despoiled by the fury of enemies, and exhausted by the succour of friends? Ismail, in the extreme

East, Rochelle in the farthest West, have alike been the scenes of slaughter and of famine; while Copenhagen, Stralsund, Dantzic, vie in their reiterated tales of horror with Genoa, and with Numantia, or Saragossa, the meteors of ancient and modern history. There are Magdeburg, Mantua, and Mentz, each sadly immortalized in letters of fire and blood. There is the soil of Flanders, of Savoy, of Piedmont, and of the Iberian Peninsula, so often, both in later times, and of old, trod, and re-trod, and glutted with gore. There are the plains around Leipsic, to which four of the greatest battles ever fought by man, have given a frightful celebrity. And there are the Tagus, the Seine, the Rhine, the famous Elbe and Danube, the Oder, and the Vistula, which have all, and each of them, so often marked the lines of military operations by their blood-stained streams. The traveller is lost amid his reminiscences of horror as he passes through endless fields of battle. But these sensations are quickly effaced, for the desolation of the moment is succeeded by ages of glory.

XXIX. But the internal repose of Sweden,

and consequently the firmness of her attitude towards foreign powers, is farther steadily guaranteed by the equitable constitution which she now enjoys. This constitution has been proved by an experience of twenty years to be suited to the genius of the country, and to be eminently qualified to secure the dignity of the crown, the due influence of the nobility, and the just liberty of the citizen. It is a matter of but little difficulty to perceive that the unsettled state of her Government, throughout a great part of her history, has operated in retarding that progressive advancement of the country, which, under different circumstances, would have been the effect of her situation, of her natural powers, and of the peculiar character of her inhabitants. But Sweden wanted one weight in the balance, the absence of which prevented the adjustment of an equilibrium. She had no middle class. There was the noble, and then, with few intervening grades, there was the peasant; an intelligent, an enlightened, a wealthy order of commoners, was not to be found. A perpetual struggle for power between the Sovereign and the nobility agitated

the State: but they could not share that power, and it was thus always exclusively possessed by one of these contending parties; while the third class was wielded as a blind instrument against the stronger, but without contributing to their own elevation, or ensuring their permanent benefit. Indeed, the answer of the Dalecarlian peasant, when solicited to assist Gustavus Vasa, in his resistance to the tyrant Christiern, would have applied equally well to his successors for many generations — "He leaves us alone, and lets us have plenty of salt-herrings."

But a third class has at length arisen in Sweden, and the merchants and burgesses, and even the peasants, now mix with solemn interest in the legislative proceedings of their Diets. When we cast our eyes over the articles of the different ephemeral constitutions, which party spirit, taking advantage of favourable circumstances, imposed upon the country prior to 1809, we are even surprised that their existence was not more transitory. The only guarantee for their duration was the continued predominance of the faction which framed them.

By the act of the Diet of Stockholm, which the weak but ambitious Frederic signed in 1723, the King consented to fundamental acts which made him merely a cypher: for the miserable gratification of wearing a crown, he stripped himself of every prerogative which could make that crown any thing else but a circle of metal. He reduced the King of Sweden to the rank of a hired functionary. Every thing was thrown into the hands of the States General. The Sovereign interfered no farther in the legislative affairs of the kingdom, than by making propositions which the Diet might negative, and by affixing his signature to their acts; an idle ceremony which he had no power to refuse, or which, in case of his refusal, was deemed unnecessary. Nor were they satisfied with excluding the Sovereign from his share in the legislative enactments; they seized on that part of the executive which is guided in its proceedings by the law of nations. Peace and war, diplomatic relations, the ordering of the army and navy, all were entrusted to their secret committees. Such was the King of Sweden, as he was made by the Diet of 1723.

The fury of party continued to rage; intrigue and treason corrupted the vitals of the state till the reign of Frederic Adolphus, when the cord was stretched to the utmost. The year 1772, under his successor, gave to Sweden a new modification of the constitution, destroyed the oligarchy, and made Gustavus the Third an absolute monarch, in spite of the oaths he had taken at his coronation. Having thus by courage and perjury, equally intrepid, obtained the ascendancy, he kept it, till his life was sacrificed at the same shrine which had degraded Frederic the First, and insulted Frederic Adolphus. Gustavus the Third supported himself on his thone, not by an union of sentiments in his favour, but by craftily balancing the physical force of the people against the influence of the nobility. But he was gradually, unknown to himself, preparing the feelings of the nation for the important alterations in the form of the constitution, which were to succeed the deposition of his successor. He had wrested the supreme power from the nobles that he might usurp it himself: but he was foiled; it escaped from his grasp, and became

gradually and equally disseminated among the body of the people. But this instability of the government produced a calamitous effect on the affairs of Sweden. Wherever there is a discontented party in the state, however weak they may be, their existence must be injurious and dangerous, for they always choose the moment when their aid is most peremptorily required, to advance their claims or to redress their grievances. How much greater must be the risk, when the oppressed party is formidable from its strength and from its influence! It is in the time of public danger that plots generally ferment; in the crisis of public misfortune, latent discontent ever bursts forth, and insensible to patriotic emotions, strives to regain ascendancy at the expense of the commonweal. Impeachments, treason, mutiny, inactivity in the public service, fatally combine their efforts with the shock of foreign invasion. Those only exert themselves who feel that they have a stake in their country worthy of exertion: the oppressed either take advantage of the moment to regain their rights, or heedlessly look on with the dull apathy of strangers.

The machinations of foreign faction had long been denounced as a fatal canker in the health of Sweden. Whence did they arise, but from the eagerness with which party discontent catches at any aid, and encourages any design, in order to reinstate itself in the power of which it has been deprived? Are the nobility swayed by the practices of Russia? The King suffers himself to be subsidized by the Court of Versailles; and thus two rival powers are introduced into the confusion of the state, hand in hand with two rival factions. Hence intrigues, plots, individual perfidy, public ruin.

It must be a source of astonishment to philosophical politicians, that Sweden, although to all appearance aptly constituted for enjoying the benefits of a liberal government, should, nevertheless, have continued so lamentably in want of a permanent fundamental arrangement, which might appease the rage of parties, and amalgamate in one great mass the variety of contending interests. But she seems never to have been able to extricate herself from the re-action of revolutions. At length, however, in 1809, she appears to have discovered the

equilibrium which suited her, and the calamities of dissension had taught each party moderation. They retained to themselves those rights which were necessary for individual liberty, and they yielded up those which the public good demanded them to vest in the Sovereign. Sweden is now governed by a limited, though hereditary monarchy. The King, with the assistance of his council, has the entire direction of the forces by sea and land, and of the fortresses: to the King are entrusted the diplomatic relations with foreign powers, and the supreme administration of justice, throughout the kingdom. The States General assemble at intervals of five years, and are composed of the four orders, of nobility, clergy, burgesses, and peasants. A majority of three orders expresses the sense of the Diet, except in any propositions for the alteration of the fundamental laws, when they are all required to be unanimous. On such occasions also their proceedings are marked by a certain cautious delay, for no such measure can be carried in the same Diet in which it is proposed, but is deliberated on at the succeeding meeting of

the States General. In these legislative proceedings, the King has the power of exercising a negative voice, and makes such propositions as may appear to the Government conducive to the good of the country. In short, in the present framework of the State, all orders labour freely, for they have at length discovered, that private interest is best promoted by the general welfare. A mutual confidence, and a mutual co-operation, accordingly exist. Principles, feelings, and opinions now no longer fluctuate in accordance with the oscillations in the form of the constitution, which thus becomes most truly "la base de la tranquillité publique, le plus ferme appui de l'autorité politique, et le gage de la liberté des citoyens."

XXX. Let us now, then, consider Sweden in her present situation of territorial security and geographical independence. Her past history and her present relations; her natural position, and the situation of her principal seaport towns; the facility of her interior communications, and the variety of her natural productions, all point her out as an essentially commercial and maritime power. She presents

two coasts of great extent; one fronting the North Sea and the Cattegat, extending northward from the point of Falsterbo to the Bay of Christiania, and thence round Lindersnos even to the North Cape; while her interior coast, was hedby the Baltic, stretches eastward again from Falsterbo to the river of Tornea, in the northernmost recess of the Gulf of Bothnia. Along these shores are the ports of Drontheim, Bergen, Christiania, Uddevalla, Gothenbourg, Halmstad, Carlshamn, Carlskrona, Nörkœping, Stockholm, and Gefle, besides numerous others.

But in case of a Baltic war, the squadron of an enemy, by blockading the entrance to the Sound, might utterly neutralize all benefit resulting to Sweden from the possession of the sea-ports on her eastern coasts. To obviate this inconvenience, therefore, and to facilitate the transport of the iron, the wood, the agricultural and other produce of the interior to the grand depots, and the principal marts for consumption, as well as to the most considerable towns of the country, it had long appeared desirable to effect a junction between the Cat-

tegat and the Baltic, as also between the cities and provinces of Sweden one with another, by means of the great lakes of Wenern, Wettern, and Malarn, which wash so many provinces of the interior, and by the rivers which feed those great inland basins. By the Canals of Arboga and Stroemsholm a junction had been effected between the lakes Hielmar, of Malarn, and of Barken, which facilitated the intercourse between the towns of Upland and Westmania, of Sudermania and Nericia. But the effect of these canals is merely local, promoting the circulation of grain and iron among these districts.

The grand project of uniting the Baltic and the Cattegat had occurred to Johan Brask, Bishop of Linköping, so early as the end of the fifteenth century, during the wars between Sweden and Denmark; in which that latter power had occupied the Sound, and prevented the importation of the necessary articles of consumption into Sweden: but a series of years of internal commotions prevented it being carried into execution. The design was

again revived during the reign of Charles the Twelfth, and that monarch had given orders to Polhem, the great engineer, for its execution, when his death before Fredericshall again caused the design to be abandoned; nor was it resumed till about the year 1750. At length, in 1800, the canal, which overcame the difficulties arising from the falls of Trollhœtta (Fiendsden), was completed; by means of which, and the river of Gotha, which enters the lake near Wenersborg, Wenern mixed its waters with those of the Cattegat, near Gothenbourg. The works were next prosecuted between the lakes Wenern and Wettern, under the direction of the Count de Platen, and were opened with great ceremony by Charles XIV. in 1822. This, which is called the canal of Westrogotha, leaves lake Wenern near Sjotorp, opposite the island of Thorsö, and enters the small inlet of Viken, which joins the Wettern near Vanäs. And lastly, the canal of Ostrogotha will complete the junction of the Wettern with the Baltic. Its course runs from the inlet of Varviken on the

eastern shore of the Wettern to the small lake of Boren; this is again connected with lake Roxen by a canal running parallel with the course of the Motala river. It thence pursues its course eastward, and enters the gulf of Slät-baken, near Söderköping, in Ostrogotha, which finally communicates with the Baltic about 58° 25′ north latitude.

To estimate the importance of these inland communications to Sweden, it is only necessary to consider how many of her most productive provinces and most populous towns are washed by the lakes, which have been joined with one another, and with the two seas, and which thus facilitate the interchange of the several commodities of these provinces among themselves, the transporting of others to depots, previous to their exportation in return and exchange for foreign commodities, and the supply of the arsenals and magazines with such stores as they may require for fitting out naval expeditions, or organizing military forces. Nor should we forget that winter does not prevent this communication, but that, when frozen over, these lakes are little inferior to our rail-

roads, and that the heaviest substances can be transported at that period of the year in sledges. But another, and even still more important consideration is, that Sweden, by possessing these means of communication, has it in her power entirely to neutralize the effect, which an enemy by blockading the Sound would formerly have exercised over her commerce, her shipping, and her resources for domestic consumption. An enemy's fleet, stationed in the narrow strait between Elsinore and Helsingbourg, if seconded by the formidable batteries of Cronberg Castle, would so effectually impede the entrance through the Sound to the Baltic, that nothing but a very overwhelming squadron, pushed through with much loss, could force its way through these Propylæa, the Thermopylæ of the North. And even then, so long as war continued, the navigation of that confined, and, in some parts, intricate sea, could not be effected without much difficulty and risk arising from shoals, and the danger of being attacked by gun-boats and small craft in the event of calms. But, by means of the works of the present reign, the port of Gothenbourg once

reached, all danger will be over. A much shorter course will pass merchant vessels through the interior of Sweden into the Baltic, by Söderköping and the Gulf of Slät-baken; or their cargoes are discharged at Gothenbourg, thence to be distributed over the interior by means of the numerous native vessels which navigate the lakes.

Let us add to the advantages inalienable from her thus possessing in her own territories the key to the Baltic, exclusively, and not affected by any neighbouring state, some of the other capabilities which Sweden presents to constitute her a commercial and maritime country. Her northern climate renders it necessary for her to procure from various countries divers commodities, some necessary, others articles of luxury, which either her soil cannot bear, or which do not come within the extent of her national industry. In return for these, she gives her iron, her copper, timber, pitch, potash, flax, and hemp, and salt-fish, sufficient to make the value of her exports exceed by a considerable proportion that of her imports. Hence, in spite of modern lecturers and modern profes-

sors, the prosperity of a country: but that prosperity is increased in a twofold proportion, when such exchange is carried on principally, or to a great extent, by native vessels. New branches of industry are then opened; the owner of the forest, the proprietor of the iron forge, the ship-builder, and a variety of other interests, with all their dependant operatives, are set at work, and a new portion of the population is called into active employment. Sweden possesses, either in her own country, or has near at hand, all the articles necessary for building and fitting out ships. If, therefore, those ships be skilfully handled, the expenses of freights ought to be proportionally reasonable, and her mercantile navy must increase in consequence; while her long extent of coast, from Tornea to the very rudest extremity of the Icy Capes, furnishes innumerable expert and hardy sailors, sufficient not only for her fisheries, and her merchant navy, but to man her ships of war. To render these establishments more secure, Sweden must be a naval power; but not on that small and secondary scale, to which her necessary mili-

tary establishments have until late years confined her fleets, but in sufficient strength to enforce the respect due to her flag, and her maritime independence in the Baltic. In those seas the Russian naval power has now been long mistress; but another day of victory for Sweden may yet return; for her superiority must be a matter of surprise, when we reflect that the principal harbour and arsenal of Russia is situated at the eastern extremity of the perilous Gulf of Finland, which for six months in the year is from ice and tempest unnavigable. And it is still more extraordinary, seemingly incongruous, that while she has for more than a century possessed a military marine, her commercial navy should, until late years, have been trifling and insignificant. Even in the last year, notwithstanding the advantages resulting from the acquisition of Finland, out of 295,314 tons of Russian merchandize imported into England, the great proportion of 271,033 tons, was in British shipping. The remainder, which was trifling, was carried in foreign vessels, all of which, it is probable, were not Russian. On the other hand, the mercan-

tile intercourse of Sweden and Norway with Great Britain, consists of 136,174 tons, of which only 25,703 were in English vessels. It must be confessed, however, that Finland is a province of immense importance to Russia; it has given her a long line of coast, inhabited by intrepid mariners, and she has added to her empire the docks and harbours of Helsingfors, Ekenes, Abo, Biorneborg, Nystad, Carleby, Christinestad, Wasa, and Uleaborg, no small contribution to her means of enlarging her naval power. But Sweden has also acquired Norway, and from Bergen, or Christiansand, or Christiania, and the harbours on that coast, one port might be selected, which ever should seem pointed out by Nature, and the commodiousness of its position, for a strong naval station. This harbour and Gothenbourg would be the chief stations on her western coasts, while Carlskrona would contain her grand Baltic fleet on the eastern shores.

XXXI. But whoever pays the least attention to Northern politics, and to the relative feelings and forces of these three great naval powers in the Baltic, cannot fail to have dis-

covered that, as they are at present situated, it would be a work of great difficulty and even hazard to Sweden to establish a navy on such a footing, as we could wish to see her enabled permanently to support. It cannot be concealed that Russia exerts such paramount influence in those seas, that no rising navy could with safety refuse to join their flag in any coalition with hers, however unwilling they may be, or however contrary such a step might prove to their peculiar interests. But, we would ask, is such a state of affairs natural? Does it not completely prevent the due developement of the powers of any neighbouring kingdom, and does not Russia thus become an incubus, paralysing the energies, and destroying the just and proportionate equality of those neighbouring states? Her weight, thus pressing on the international system, prevents all the benefits which might arise from the justly arranged diversity of their interests, either to the individual nations, or to the entire political frame of Europe; and by this forced distortion of their policy, she places them in a position, highly prejudicial to themselves, and alike unnatural to all.

To neutralize this influence, and to restore the just equilibrium between those powers themselves, the presence of a strong neutral navy is all that is requisite; this once established, all the difficulties would vanish. But independent of political surmises and conjectures arising from geographical position and statistical data, the events of the last fifty years have abundantly proved to us that the presence of some such force is necessary for the preservation of the due balance of power in those seas, and for the protection of the weaker navies against stronger ones, single or confederated, native or foreign, which may seek to oppress them. Divided as the balance of power is between three nations, one of which is strong and mighty in its gigantic resources, whilst the other two have, from the course of circumstances and the scantiness of their revenues, never been able to rise beyond an ascertained level, whatever may be the combinations, an inequality must ensue. By the expedient we suggest, if the power were exercised with discretion, and on strictly neutral principles, the repose and security of those seas would be guaranteed, all immoderate designs

would be checked, and all unequal coalitions crushed. For even when the Northern powers have united their forces for the protection of their maritime interests, they have constantly mixed up with their proceedings the jealousies of their rival navies. They have never discovered disinterested concert, except in their treaties and manifestoes; but in the time of action and of peril they have exhibited such a vacillating indifference, such a generally mutual distrust, and such a backwardness in mutual aid, that either their coalitions have been untimely dissolved by the incongruous nature of the powers of which they were composed, or one of their fleets, deserted and exposed to vengeance, has heavily suffered for the too faithful but solitary performance of its duty, in what should have been a common and a combined system of warfare. The scheme which we propose, would prevent the recurrence of such accidents as happened in 1801 and 1807; it would cement the grand Confederation of the North; it would ensure the safety of the subordinate powers; and by overawing the strong, and holding out assistance to the weak, it would render

the whole individually secure and conjointly formidable. But where is such a force to be found? Prussia can scarcely venture with her merchantmen in the Mediterranean. The Grand-duke's pleasure yacht constitutes the navy of Mecklenburgh; and Austria now aspires no more, as she did in the days of Wallenstein, to fix her flag in the Baltic. A Hanseatic league might have effected much, but their days of strength have now passed away.

It follows, then, that we should examine the reasonableness of introducing for this purpose some foreign power, unconnected with the Baltic as regards territorial possession, but united with it in interest by reason of its commercial relations. Against such a measure, many weighty objections would be urged, and difficulties might present themselves in the execution. But in answer to them, one important consideration should not be overlooked, which should banish all apprehensions suggested by jealousy of foreign intervention, and teach the nations of the North to estimate rightly the difference between the guarantees offered by Powers whose geographical position must more

or less operate on their maritime policy, and by those who have indeed a stake in the Baltic, but not one which any convulsions by land could materially affect. In reasoning on this point, we must constantly bear in mind the object here meditated, which is—to produce an equilibrium by means of which the three maritime nations of the North may each be free to pursue their own measures, so long as they do not interfere with, or be not detrimental to, the others,—and secondly, to provide efficient means in the common operations for the protection of their own commerce and that of the other nations bordering on the Baltic, without any reference to, or connexion with, events which may be going on by land. Now it is manifest that such a result could never be produced by any pretended neutrality of a neighbouring power; indeed, it appears impossible that such a neutrality should exist; for how could they ever disengage their maritime policy from the bias of their Continental relations? Such a power, therefore, could never, in the nature of things, constitute a strictly neutral guarantee. Now the foreign neutral is affected by no such

circumstances: the interests of his commerce prompt him to adopt warmly every measure which the powers, with whom he is joined, would propose as advantageous for themselves; and his mercantile navy, dispersed among their harbours, is an all-sufficient pledge that he will not undertake any thing in violation of the law of nations, or of their individual rights. Such a proceeding would be equally impolitic and absurd, and could have but one consequence. And thus, intimately connected, and acting closely in concert with the interests of the powers of the North, his office would be simply that of an armed mediator, an attitude perpetually assumed by great independent powers in the adjustment of disputes, and the regulation of interests in Continental affairs, and which only needs to be put to the proof to be acknowledged as equally efficient by sea.

About twenty-five leagues south of Carlskrona lies the Island of Bornholm, with a group of isles at a distance of about two leagues to the North-east, called the Eartholms. There are upwards of twenty of them, but the three principal ones are Christiansæ,

Fredericshæ, and Græsholm. These lesser isles are the most important as regards strength of fortifications and capaciousness for anchorage, while Bornholm forms a necessary appendage to supply them with provisions. From their centrality of situation, from their capacity of defence, and from the commodiousness of their harbour, these isles may be not inaptly termed the Malta of the Baltic. This spot we would fix upon as the point d'appui, and central station of a neutral naval force in the Baltic. With such powerful and equitable guarantee, working in support of all her natural advantages; with the justly acknowledged skill of her hydrographers and her naval architects, with the ardour of her officers, and the bravery and practice of her seamen, Sweden might become a strong and imposing maritime power, and one which would exercise a very considerable influence on the destinies of the navigation of the North.

XXXII. Such a result cannot be brought about without the intervention of many years, and the beneficial assistance of Time and Opportunity. But we must not therefore deride it

as impracticable and visionary : that which is required for the benefit of mankind is never impracticable, and the proposition which is founded on the eternal principles of justice and beneficence is not visionary, but prophetic. Justice has more to do with modern politics than sciolists are able to believe; and he who, instead of narrowing his political speculations to the character of one man, and the influence of one country, is wise enough to take a comprehensive glance of social Europe, will find that, however it may for a time be opposed by the ambition of an individual or a people, a principle of benevolence will insensibly regulate the happiness of the majority.

Never was a measure more necessary for the happiness of all concerned than the union of Sweden and Norway. That union formed the despair of statesmen almost for centuries, and was finally consummated at a moment when the very existence of Sweden, as an independent and sovereign state, seemed doubtful. We must not forget this striking lesson. Time, too, will do for Sweden all that Europe requires. Kingdoms are not established with the same

facility with which, in the present day, we draw up a charter or consolidate a code. All history shows us that the results of evil and impolitic counsels are ever the speediest in developing themselves; while measures of the most lasting utility and importance, the establishment of kingdoms, the aggrandizement of nations, are only to be effected by long meditation, by mature designs, by sagacious measures in effecting them, by profiting from seasons and opportunities, by skilful and patient reconcilement of discordant interests, and by steadfast and unshaken perseverance in the original design, even though circumstances may for a while render it necessary that it be abandoned. And yet all these objects attained, may be frustrated and swept away by the single hand of a rash and inexperienced minister. Such is the slender thread on which hangs the fate of kingdoms! Never was Napoleon so mistaken as when he affirmed that "twenty years of victory would be requisite to destroy what twenty years of victory had created." Two campaigns proved the falsity of his doctrine. But still more frail than the reputation of a conqueror is

the polity raised by a sudden, an unnecessary, a violent, and therefore an unnatural revolution.

XXXIII. Having now endeavoured to assist the reader in forming a clear conception of the character of a country, of which we are too ignorant, our attention is naturally attracted to a consideration of the individual by whom that character has principally been formed. The time has long arrived that Charles John of Sweden should be extricated from the pen of fugitive pamphleteers and political adventurers. Envy, indeed, will not yet be silent, but her whisper will not reach Posterity. In England, we have been too apt to consider this King as one of the mushroom monarchs of Napoleon, fortunate in not being as evanescent as his fungous brethren. We forget that he was the free choice of a free people, and that perhaps no event was more galling in the life of Napoleon, than the election of his ancient brother in arms to the throne of the Vasas. Even those who are unprejudiced, and who pay homage to the talents of the King of Sweden, consider him only as a skilful

general and a subdolous politician. What else he may be, and what are the sentiments of the writer of this notice with regard to him, it is unnecessary to state. We have no wish to interfere in the opinion which the reader may himself form from the following documents, which must command, if not his admiration, at least his attention. In them we may trace the King of Sweden from the moment he landed on the Quay of Helsingbourg, to his very last meeting with the representatives of his people. We shall find him during the course of his extraordinary career, in all possible situations, and under the influence of all the feelings with which men can sympathise. As a warrior, as a statesman, as a patriot, as a father, as a promoter of science, and as a patron of the arts; in his tent, in his cabinet, invoking an implacable despot, planning the studies of his son—in the hall of agriculture, in the theatres of universities, in the academies of science, he alike fixes our interest. We are surprised to hear one whom we have considered only as a successful soldier,

giving utterance to feelings of refined sensibility in language of majestic eloquence.

XXXIV. Here we close our unpretending labours, which, if they be considered as having contributed in the slightest degree to the interests of the great and noble science of Politics, our purpose will be amply achieved, and our exertions amply recompensed.

MEMORIALS

OF

CHARLES JOHN.

PART I.

MEMORIALS

OF

CHARLES JOHN.

PART I.

FROM HIS ARRIVAL IN SWEDEN, 1810, TO THE GENERAL PEACE, 1814.

SPEECH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE TO THE GENTLEMEN WHO RECEIVED HIM ON THE QUAY AT HELSINGBOURG, OCT. 20, 1810.

Gentlemen,

The King and the Nation of Sweden have given me a great proof of their esteem and confidence. I have sacrificed every thing in order to return it. I have quitted France, the country for which I have lived up to this day. I have separated myself from the Emperor Napoleon, to whom the most lively grati-

tude and innumerable ties attached me. It is not the hope of a crown which can indemnify my heart for such painful sacrifices; no, Gentlemen, I can never be repaid but by the happiness of my new country. I come then amongst you with the most perfect self-abandonment, and with the most ardent desire to do every thing to contribute to that happiness. I bring to the King, whom you so justly revere, an unbounded devotion. Let us unite, then, Gentlemen, to fulfil his paternal wishes; and let us never suffer our country to lose aught of that illustrious rank, which it owes to the valour and to the virtues of his ancestors.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE KING OF SWEDEN, ON BEING APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO.

Helsingbourg, Oct. 21, 1810.

Sire,

I have received the commission of Generalissimo of the forces by land and sea, which your Majesty has deigned to send me. I shall not endeavour to describe how sensibly I feel this new mark of your confidence. It is not in words to express my gratitude. My whole

life will be scarcely sufficient to render myself worthy of so much goodness; the only use which I desire to make of the eminent dignity with which, Sire, it has pleased you to invest me, is to augment still farther, if it be possible, by my own example, the tender and respectful attachment which the whole Swedish army entertains towards its King. With this view, I shall glory still more in being the chief of so many heroes.

I have at length arrived in the midst of this nation, for which I already cherish the most lively affection; but it is still wanting to my happiness to present my homage to the Prince, whom all the Swedes revere as their father, and who has already deigned to call me to be the first amongst his children. How dear does this sacred title become to my heart! In a few days, Sire, I hope to enjoy the fairest of my rights, that one which empowers me to approach your august person.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTATION OF THE STATES, ON THEIR PRESENTING HIM, ON THE 31ST OCTOBER, 1810, AT DROTTNINGHOLM, THE ACT OF ELECTION, AND ON THEIR RECEIVING THE SIGNATURE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS TO THE ACT OF GUARANTEE.

My good Lords and Citizens of Sweden,

A premature death has destroyed the hopes which Sweden had reposed on the person of the Prince Charles Augustus. He desired the good of his country; and the tears which flow on his tomb prove the gratitude of the nation. Happy the princes who are thus remembered and regretted! After having from my youth served the country which gave me birth, I desired to end my days in repose, when Sweden offered me the hereditary succession to the throne of her kings.

In the consent of a justly-venerated monarch, and in the free and unanimous choice of a celebrated nation, I thought I perceived a decision of Providence; I made it my duty to submit to it; and my soul elevated itself to the level of my new destiny. In placing my foot on the territory of Sweden, I was already entirely a Swede: I became a Swede from the moment when I sacrificed all to return your

confidence; from the moment when I had, as it were, commenced a new existence to be consecrated to you. I do not conceal from myself the difficulties inseparable from the elevated dignity to which I have been called; but I shall consider myself sufficiently recompensed if I can contribute to the prosperity of our country. This end cannot be attained unless I am supported by all the Swedes. Heaven has given us the best of Kings; let us fulfil towards him the duties of love, respect, and obedience; let every private interest give way before the great interest of the public good; let the most perfect union reign among all the orders of the State. Gentlemen, you are shortly about to return to your hearths; bear thither, and maintain there, concord and peace: such dispositions alone can consolidate the prosperity and the independence of our common country. I receive with gratitude the expression of your sentiments towards my person; I deserve them by the attachment and the sincere friendship which I vow to each of you.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE CAPITAL WHO RECEIVED HIM AT THE GATES, NOV. 2, 1810.

To the Grand Governor.

These repeated acclamations, these solemn meetings already trace out to me the rule of my duties. The obligations which I have contracted towards Sweden shall be religiously fulfilled; for the first desire of my heart will always be the affections of my King, and the support of the nation. On this Scandinavian soil, surrounded by Swedes, I regret nothing: I would not exchange your love for the first throne in the universe. It is agreeable to me on entering the capital, to receive its first homage through the medium of a man with whose writings I am already acquainted, and who now represents to me the purity of the national character.

To the Magistrates.

It is with deep emotion that I find myself among the magistrates of the capital of the kingdom. I know that their good conduct in all circumstances has been appreciated by the King. Their example is highly useful among so numerous a population. It is only by enlightening the citizens on the duties which

they have to fulfil, that magistrates deserve well of their country. Continue, Gentlemen, to perform this honourable duty, and remind all that there is no happiness in society without the love of order and justice, and without a respect for the laws.

To the Elders of the Capital.

If in the honourable and arduous duty which I have to fulfil, I encounter obstacles and difficulties, my courage will never abandon me, when I recollect that I have been saluted to-day by the elders of the capital, and that their vows second my efforts.

ADDRESS OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE KING AND THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM, NOV. 5, 1810.

Sire,

On appearing this day before the throne of your Majesty, surrounded by the States-General of the kingdom, my first duty, as well as my first desire, is to lay at your feet the public homage of those sacred and inviol-

able sentiments, which will attach me to your Majesty while I live.

I pay this homage, Sire, to my King, but I also pay it to the person of a Prince who, long before he mounted the throne, had earned by his virtues the confidence and the love of the nation. In situations of difficulty, the State has always had recourse to your Majesty. Twice had the throne been vacant, and twice had your Majesty undertaken the laborious duties of royalty, with no other object than the public good. But on a sudden there burst forth one of those revolutions, which Heaven seems sometimes to permit as a lesson to princes, and the nation conjured your Majesty to mount that throne which you had so long defended.

Little could I ever have foreseen that I should one day be associated in so glorious a destiny, and that your Majesty, after having deigned to fix on me the suffrages of your people, would have crowned so many acts of goodness, by adopting me as your son! A title so dear to me fills my soul with an ambition the most noble. What ought I not to do to merit, to support that illustrious name which your Majesty this day transmits to me? It is not without a great mistrust in my own strength, that

I have accepted a task at once so honourable and so difficult. If I have been able to resolve upon it, it has only been by determining to follow in every thing the counsels of your Majesty, and to learn from you the noble art of governing. May God grant, Sire, that I may long be able to enjoy your lessons! May God grant that the infant soul of my son may mould itself after yours, and be penetrated by the glorious examples which your Majesty offers to your descendants!

Deputies of the Nobility,

Called to be the first among the defenders of the throne and of the State, I hope that I shall be seconded by you in this noble employment. Nobility, Gentlemen, you well know, was originally the reward of great services rendered to the country—and what obligations do they not owe to the State, who enjoy from their birth the well-earned honours of their ancestors? The sacrifice of their life on every occasion is the least of their duties; it is only by setting the example of perfect disinterestedness, and of an entire submission to the King and to the laws; it is, in short, only by an irreproachable life, that you preserve in reality the nobility of your forefathers.

Members of the Clergy,

The sublime doctrine of the Gospel, which it is your office to preach, should serve as a guide to all mankind; it contains lessons for kings and nations: I shall guide myself with eagerness by the lights which you afford me, and my heart will be your debtor for the good which you will do by disseminating, as faithful pastors, the precepts and the consolation of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Deputies of the Order of Citizens,

Industry, arts, and commerce insure the prosperity of the State, besides increasing the well-being of families in a free nation under a just Government: genius and talent lead to every thing, and those who distinguish themselves in your order, have a strong claim to the esteem of the Sovereign.

And you, honest Swedish Peasants,

Everywhere have I heard praises of the qualities which distinguish you; I regard with emotion the particular consideration which your country pays you. And are they not well worthy of such consideration—they whose arms by turns nourish and defend it? Continue to

adorn by your labours and your virtues the useful and respectable rank which you constitute in the State. Your King watches, as a father, over your dearest interests, and his Majesty will permit me to share his tender solicitude.

I now address myself to you all, faithful representatives of the Swedish nation. The King has deigned to propose me as his successor on the throne, you have confirmed his choice by a free and unanimous election, and his Majesty this day rivets by an indissoluble knot the ties which already bound me to you: so many acts of goodness, so much esteem and confidence, impose on me the greatest obligations; I feel them acutely, and I have a strong desire to fulfil them.—Bred in camps, I bring you a soul frank and loyal, an absolute devotion to the King, my august father, an ardent desire to do every thing for the happiness of my new country: with such intentions I hope to do good.

The only policy which the laws of God authorize, must have justice and truth for its foundation: such are the principles of the King, and they shall be mine likewise. I have beheld war near at hand, and I know all its evils: for it is not conquest which can console a country for the blood of her children, spilt on

a foreign land. I have seen the mighty Emperor of the French, so often crowned with the laurel of victory, surrounded by his invincible armies, sigh after the olive-branches of peace. Yes, Gentlemen, peace is the only glorious aim of a sage and enlightened government: it is not the extent of a state which constitutes its strength and independence; it is its laws, its commerce, its industry, and above all, its national spirit. Sweden, it is true, has suffered great losses, but the honour of the Swedish name is untarnished: let us conform to the decrees of Providence, and reflect, Gentlemen, that it has left us a soil which supplies our wants, and iron to wield in our defence.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, Nov. 11th, 1810.

Sire,

In my first interview with the Baron Alquier, I easily perceived that that Minister had received very severe instructions relative to

the English commerce, and that they had been caused by complaints made to your Majesty, touching the protection, which it would seem was afforded to that commerce by Sweden.

I was determined to know the truth, and immediately sent a confidential person to Gothenbourg to collect information. The English commerce is not tolerated there, as persons have told your Majesty. It is true, that there have been there, as everywhere else, smugglers, and these are for the most part Jews, who are in communication with other Jews, established in the neighbouring countries. I only beseech your Majesty not to give credit to exaggerated reports, which can only be dictated by the private interests of those who are pleased to disseminate them, and by a spirit of hatred which the enemies of Sweden love to foment.

I also beg your Majesty to remark that the royal authority in Sweden is very limited, and that there are customs and privileges which the Constitution does not permit the head of the State to destroy. All that I can assure your Majesty is, that all that is possible shall be done to second the Continental system.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, 1810.

At the moment when I was going to address my thanks to your Majesty, for your goodness in extending for a year the leave granted to the French officers who accompanied me to Sweden, I am informed that your Majesty has retracted that favour. This unexpected disappointment, and, indeed, every thing that reaches me from Paris, makes me sensible that your Majesty is not well disposed towards me. What have I done, Sire, to deserve this treatment? Calumny alone must have been the cause of it. In the new situation, in which fortune has placed me, I should doubtless be more exposed to it than ever, were I not fortunate enough to find a defender in your Majesty's heart. Whatever may be said, Sire, I beseech you to believe that I have nothing to reproach myself with, and that I am entirely devoted to your person, not merely from the strength of my old associations, but from a sentiment that is unalterable. If things are not conducted in Sweden entirely according to your Majesty's wish, this is solely owing to the Constitution. To infringe this Constitution is

not in the power of the King, and still less in mine. There are still here many private interests to be melted down in the great national crucible; four orders to be bound together as the fasces of the state; and it is only by means of very prudent and measured conduct that I can hope to sit one day on the throne of Sweden. As M. Gentil de St. Alphonse, my aide-de-camp, returns to France, in conformity with your Majesty's orders, I make him the bearer of this letter. Your Majesty may question him: he has seen every thing; let him tell your Majesty the truth. He will tell your Majesty whether or not I am anxious to please you, and if I am not here in a state of continual inquietude between the pain of displeasing you, and my new duties.

Sire, your Majesty has grieved me by withdrawing from me the officers whom you had granted me for a year. Since you command it, I send them back to France. Perhaps your Majesty will be inclined to alter your decision; in which case I beg that you yourself will fix the number that you may think proper to send me. I shall receive them from you with gratitude. If, on the contrary, your Majesty retains them in France, I recommend them to your goodness. They have always served with

distinction, and have had no share in the rewards which were distributed after the last campaign.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE AT THE CLOSE OF THE DIET, NOV. 12, 1810.

Deputies of the Nobility,

I accept with pleasure and gratitude the sentiments which you express towards me. I rely upon your affection as you may upon mine. The Diet, which has just terminated its labours, will be celebrated in the annals of Sweden by the spirit of union which has presided at its deliberations. The King, the supreme depositary of the laws which you have enacted, will maintain them, and cause them to be respected by all, without distinction of rank or person. You will always find me ready to join you in the defence of our country, and when its honour and its glory shall require it, happy shall I be to shed the last drop of my blood in her cause.

Deputies of the Clergy,

The first Swede with whom I became acquainted on arriving in my new country, was the worthy head of your order. From him I formed an exalted opinion of the Swedish clergy; and those amongst you whom I have since known, have confirmed my opinion. Ministers of peace and union! you have given an example of it in the Diet which has just completed its labours. I recommend to your prayers the King and our country.

Deputies of the Order of Citizens,

I thank you for the sentiments you have just expressed towards me; you may depend equally on my solicitude in all that concerns your welfare. The constitution guarantees the liberty of the individual, and the rights of the citizens. Enjoy this precious blessing! Enjoy the happiness of being governed by a King, who is the father of his subjects, and let each one discharge his duty to the country in the career which he has embraced! The more I become acquainted with you, Gentlemen, the more happy and honoured I count myself in being a Swede.

Good and Honourable Deputies of the Order of Peasants,

I am extremely glad to have seen you assembled at Stockholm ; but the King will shortly permit me to visit his provinces, and I anticipate the pleasure I shall have in again seeing you in the bosom of your families. The Government will continue its efforts to maintain peace; but if one day the country should call your sons to the battle, tell them, that in your absence, it will be I who will stand to them in the stead of a father.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE IN THE ACADEMY OF MILITARY SCIENCES, NOV. 14, 1810.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for the sentiments which you have expressed for me, and it is with true satisfaction that I find myself in the midst of you.

After having myself run during thirty years the career of arms, I cannot but take a lively

interest in all that concerns the military art; and moreover, the labours with which you occupy yourselves, deserve the attention of a Government, since, by gathering together the examples and the lessons of great captains, you assist in forming a military spirit, which may have an influence on the destinies of the country. Every good citizen must be a good soldier; this is almost a natural disposition in the Swedish nation; but bravery is not sufficient. The excellence of our profession consists in a respect for discipline, in a religious devotion to its duties, and lastly, in the voluntary self-denial of all the enjoyments of life to serve the King and the State.

I am sensible, Gentlemen, of the regret which you must have felt in losing the Prince Charles Augustus; all my endeavours shall be exerted to soothe it; I will act like him, and, like him, I hope to gain your esteem.

ADDRESS TO A DEPUTATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, NOV. 26, 1810.

Gentlemen,

Public instruction is the object of the greatest interest to a nation friendly to liberty. The Government cannot bestow on it too much care and attention. I shall therefore rank in the number of my principal duties, those of the post, which the King permits me this day to occupy amongst you.

Education perfects the work of nature; it is education which developes the germs, from which are formed heroes, legislators, statesmen; it is education which directs the aspirations of young minds towards all that is noble and just.

Religion, Morality, and Literature, these are the grand sources of civilization. Religion is the first want of every society, since it is religion which binds men mutually together. Without religion, the wisest laws would be insufficient.

Morality powerfully supports us in walking with confidence through the thorny path of life, and Literature strengthens in our souls the happy impressions of youth; it calms the pas-

sions, it represses the vices, it rouses us to the practice of virtue by the examples of the great men whom it celebrates.

It is thus, Gentlemen, that you will communicate to your young pupils the desire of treading in the footsteps of those of their ancestors who have adorned their country; you will remind them that Sweden already possessed a settled Government and laws, when a great part of Europe was still plunged in barbarism, or bowed beneath the yoke of a stranger, and you will thus inspire in them the noble ambition of maintaining their ancient independence.

The celebrity which the University of Upsala enjoys, the learning which distinguishes its present members, render the relations which I shall henceforward maintain with you doubly precious.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE IN THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. NOV. 29, 1810.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Academy of Sciences,

The King, in permitting me to accept a place among you, has thought that the heir

to his throne ought not to be a stranger to any of the sources of the prosperity of the State.

The Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, founded by the zeal of individual citizens, has devoted all its labours to the propagation of that knowledge which increases the resources of nations, and which preserves them from falling into degradation and slavery.

I accept with pleasure the title which you offer me; I shall be proud to bear it: if those high duties, which Providence has called me to fulfil, do not leave me sufficient time to assist in your studies, I shall with my thoughts at least be always among you, and you will find in me constant protection and friendship.

And above all, Gentlemen, let the discovery of Truth be the object and recompense of all your labours. In proportion to the charms with which Error is sometimes surrounded, ought to be our efforts to guard against it, and to pay our homage to Truth.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, Nov. 19th, 1810.

Sire,

By my letter of the 11th of November, I had the honour of informing your Majesty that the King was ready to do every thing which the laws of the Constitution would permit, to prevent the introduction of English merchandize. The Ministry were employed in framing a very severe regulation on this point, when a dispatch from M. Lagerbjelke arrived, which filled the King's mind with grief, and even sensibly affected his health. This dispatch proved to what a degree your Majesty was prejudiced against us, since by giving us only five days to answer, you treated us with the same rigour as you would use towards a hostile nation; and the official note, presented by the Baron Alquier, has only left to Sweden the sad alternative, either of seeing the ties broken which unite her with France, or of delivering herself up to the mercy of a formidable enemy by declaring war, without possessing any means of prosecuting hostilities.

When I decided on accepting the succession

to the throne of Sweden, I ever hoped, Sire, that I should be able to reconcile the interests of the country which I had faithfully served and defended during thirty years, with those of the country which had just adopted me. Scarcely had I arrived, when I saw that hope destroyed; and the King must have remarked how grievously my heart was divided between its attachment to your Majesty, and the consciousness of its new duties.

In so painful a situation, I could only abandon myself to the decision of the King, and abstain from taking part in the deliberations of the Council of State.

The Council of State did not conceal,

1st. That an open state of war, provoked by us, would infallibly cause the capture of all the vessels which are engaged in carrying iron to America.

2ndly. That in consequence of an unfortunate war, our magazines are empty, our arsenals devoid of activity and totally unprovided, and that our funds are insufficient to meet our wants.

3rdly. That considerable sums are necessary to protect the fleet at Carlskrona, and to repair the fortifications, but that there are no funds to supply such sums.

4thly. That the assembling of the army requires an extraordinary outlay of at least seven or eight millions, and that the Constitution does not permit the King to levy any tax without the consent of the States-General.

5thly, and lastly, That salt is an object of the first and most absolute necessity in Sweden, and that it is England alone which has furnished it up to this time.

But all these considerations, Sire, have been waived from the desire of satisfying your Majesty. The King and his council have shut their ears to the cry of public misery, and a state of war with England has been resolved on, merely from respect for your Majesty, and to convince our calumniators that Sweden, enjoying a sage and moderate government, only aspires to a maritime peace. Happy, Sire, will that Sweden be, so ill-known until now, if she can obtain, in return for her devotion, some proofs of good-will on the part of your Majesty.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, Dec. 8, 1810.

Sire,

By my letter of the 19th of November, I had the honour to inform you that the King, faithful to the sentiments which he had pledged to your Majesty, had declared war against England, in spite of all the objections which the safety of his States could raise against this step, and with the sole view of pleasing your Majesty.

The King will always be proud of having given this proof of his devotion to your Majesty; but it is for me, who am the daily witness of his trouble and disquietude—it is for me to appeal to the magnanimity of your Majesty, in a case which may affect the health of the King, as well as the welfare of the kingdom. I flatter myself that your Majesty will receive my observations with favour. In addressing myself to you, Sire, direct, I make use of an ancient privilege, which I shall ever delight in preserving, and which will revive in my soul reminiscences as agreeable as they are glorious.

Sweden, in the sad condition to which the last reign had reduced her, neither could nor

ought to aspire to any thing but to a long peace. Her sole object was to repair by agriculture and commerce the loss which she had suffered, thus to re-establish her finances by degrees, and to re-model entirely her military system and her administration. So far from doing this, she has just declared war: she has hazarded this step without having a single battalion ready to march, without the slightest supplies in her arsenals or her magazines, and, what is still worse, without a farthing to meet the expenses of so great an enterprize: in a word, in the present state of this country, such a step would be a decided act of madness, if it were not warranted by the support of your Majesty.

Sweden, it is true, possesses in herself the elements of a great force; her inhabitants are naturally warlike, her Constitution permits her to levy 80,000 men, and her male population is such, that such a levy might be easily made; but you, Sire, well know that war is only fed by war, and a great military establishment purely on the defensive is a burden, which Sweden cannot support without foreign assistance.

The laws of the Constitution forbid the King to establish new taxes without the consent of

the States-General; and the war has just annihilated one of the principal branches of the public revenue, the Customs, which produced more than six millions of francs yearly. To this must be added that the contributions are in arrear, and that the confiscations which are made, affect the Swedish subjects, and not the strangers, who have taken the precaution to insure the payment of the merchandize they imported.

In short, Sire, our situation is most alarming, if France do not come to our assistance. Ever since the first alliance concluded between Francis I. and Gustavus Vasa, France has not only been the constant friend of Sweden, but she has moreover supported and assisted her in all her wars. Nature appears to have destined these two nations to live in harmony; and if she has refused riches to the Swede, she has endowed him with valour, and all the qualities necessary for the execution of the grandest designs. There is here but one desire, that of being on sincere terms of friendship with France, and of participating in her glory whenever an opportunity shall present itself. But we are without money.

In peace, the laborious Swede, contented with his fields and his mines, would have

patiently relied on time and his economy for a happier state of things. Forced by your Majesty to declare war, we look to you with confidence. We offer you men and iron, and we ask in return those means which Nature has refused us.

Deign, Sire, to give your particular consideration to the state of this country; and be pleased to accept with favour the expression of the sentiments, &c.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, 19th Dec. 1810.

Sire,

M. de Czernicheff has begged me to entrust him with a letter for your Majesty, which I hasten to do, hoping that he will report to your Majesty what he has seen in Sweden. In fact, Sire, full of confidence in your magnanimity and your particular kindness towards me, I have but one thing to desire, which is that you should be apprized of the truth.

M. de Czernicheff will tell your Majesty that Sweden is on the point of being reduced to the most deplorable state; that she is entirely without means of supporting the war which she has just declared; that the Government, notwithstanding, redoubles its efforts in so momentous a crisis, but that it is not in the power of the King, as elsewhere, to extend the system of confiscations; that the Constitution of this country guarantees the rights and property of every one, and that if the King himself were to adopt a contrary measure, no counsellor of state could give his consent to it.

I am happy in having the general opinion of the nation in my favour, but I should most certainly lose that moral influence the very moment I was suspected of the slightest attempt against the Constitution.

The King offers your Majesty every thing that is in his power. He will spare no sacrifice to prove to your Majesty his devotion to France; but I entreat you, Sire, to deign to calculate our means, and grant us the confidence which we deserve by our sincere and unalterable attachment.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTATION FROM VERMDÖN, TESTIFYING THEIR DEEP REPENTANCE OF THE LATE DISTURBANCES THERE, MAY, 26th, 1811.

The King has heard with sorrow the criminal disturbances which have taken place at Vermdön. If his Majesty had not suffered himself to be guided by the clemency which characterizes him, he might in an instant have put your isle out of the pale of the Constitution, and have stamped its inhabitants with the seal of general reprobation.

The King has ordered nothing which is contrary to the laws: his Majesty has only put in execution a resolution of the States of the kingdom, sanctioned and approved by himself. The King, consequently, has a right to expect the strictest obedience. The period of disorder is passed, the reign of the laws must commence.

The King being legally empowered to levy 50,000 men, according to the resolution of the States, for the recruiting of his army, has, however, only required 15,000, because he thinks that number sufficient for the defence of the country.

And yet you could mistake the paternal intentions of his Majesty? If your fathers had been as lukewarm in their patriotism, Sweden would now be a slave, under a foreign yoke. I ask you, do you desire to remain as you are —free and independent Swedes?

I bear all good Swedes in my heart. I have been called to this country by the united wishes of the nation, and of its King. I came, with confidence, to defend and to protect you; but if any dare to oppose the execution of given orders, the guilty one shall be smitten by the authority of the law, quick as though he were struck by fire from Heaven.

For the rest, I put myself in your place: you yet preserve a galling remembrance of the usage of the ancient Landtvärn (conscription); he who then saw his son perish miserably, may at least hesitate before he abandons another child, for whom he dreads the same fate. But, I repeat it to you—if the interest of the State requires your sons to march, (which I do not yet apprehend,) I shall march with them, and they shall receive the same treatment as my own Son.

Calm, then, these childish alarms, and recollect that the only means to be masters at home, is to be prepared against all hostile attacks.

I observe with pleasure the repentance which you express. Experience has given me the power of reading men's thoughts by their faces; I see that your hearts acknowledge their criminality. I am persuaded that you have not been perverted, but only for a moment seduced by the influence of strangers.

I will beg the King to pardon you, and to forget all, in consideration of your prompt repentance; but learn to prove by your conduct in future, that you are deserving of the favour of his Majesty.

I do not desire to know the names of the individuals who have taken part in the tumult; but I shall preserve for ever the remembrance of those of the inhabitants of Vermdön who have shown themselves good Swedes, and I am gratified to find that their number is the most considerable.

To prove to you that I wish to draw a curtain over what is passed, I will come some of these days with my Son to visit you in your isle; I shall be unguarded, for I desire no other guard than that which I hope always to find in your hearts.

[His Roval Highness, accompanied by the Duke of Sudermania, by his Court, and the

deputation of Vermdön, then proceeded to his Majesty, where he delivered the following speech.]

Sire,—Your faithful subjects of the Isle of Vermdön come to testify to your Majesty the profound repentance with which they are penetrated. Symptoms of disobedience manifested themselves amongst them in defiance of the orders of your Majesty: it was, however, the smaller number which took part in the disorder; they come to implore that clemency, Sire, which is innate in your heart, and they only wait to hear a word from the mouth of your Majesty, to return tranquil and happy to their habitations. May your Majesty permit me to join with them in asking oblivion for their errors, and in promising, in the name of all the inhabitants of the Isle, an irreproachable conduct in future.

Sire,—The measures taken for the re-assembling of the army are founded on a resolution of the States of the kingdom, sanctioned by your Majesty. They are founded in justice. Where, moreover, is the peasant, who ought not to appreciate the benefit, when the lands hitherto privileged are no longer exempted from the levy; when every individual of the requisite

age is liable without distinction; and when, in short, this extraordinary burthen does not weigh heavier on one class than on another?

All good Swedes will feel that it is only the intention of your Majesty to convince our enemies that Sweden can defend herself.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTATION FROM ROSLAGEN, JUNE 26th, 1811.

In causing to be executed a law of the kingdom, with a provisional diminution of two-thirds of the levy enacted for the recruiting of the army, the King did not anticipate meeting with any obstacle: he has not been deceived in his expectations; all the provinces have recognized in the orders given by his Majesty a continuation of his solicitude for the independence and the future happiness of Sweden.

Some parishes only have dared to question, whether the resolution of the States of the kingdom, sanctioned by his Majesty, should be executed or not.

From that instant, the means of justice and of force have been employed to bring back those misguided people to obedience, and to punish the movers of such criminal attempts: these latter cannot hope for any pardon; the law will strike them.

Look back upon the past, recollect what you were twenty years since, and what you are now; to preserve what remains to you, there is no guarantee save in arms, and in the fixed determination to use them in case of necessity.

Fear not that your children will be ill-treated; I will relieve their wants, I will share their privations when the time shall come. The career of honour is open to all; those who conduct themselves well may aspire to the rank of officers, and even to become among the chiefs of the army.

I willingly yield to the prayer you present to me, to solicit your pardon with the King; but answer me, Are you really repentant? Is it fear, or hypocrisy, which brings you here; or is it the love for your country, a religious regard for your oaths, and respect for your Sovereign? If you are not animated by the most sincere repentance, do not present yourselves before the King; he would see by your countenances

that your patriotism was feigned;—but if, as I believe, you are sincerely repentant, his Majesty will receive you like a father who recovers his erring children.

Now that you have a hope of obtaining your pardon, tell me—avow frankly, if in your tumultuous assemblies you did not fear to see the shade of Charles XII. stride in amongst you, and reproach you for hesitating a moment to furnish defenders to your country!

[Then his Royal Highness proceeded to the King, and pronounced the following speech:]

Sire,

The inhabitants of Roslagen have beseeched me to plead for them with your Majesty. They come to solicit that clemency which has ever characterized you; they come to declare to your Majesty that they never intended to oppose the execution of orders emanating from the throne. Some evil-disposed persons alone, and reports disseminated by strangers, have disturbed for a moment the decency and tranquillity which ought always to reign over their assemblies: they are now all persuaded that the moment of disorder has disappeared from Sweden, never to return; they all feel convinced that no happiness can exist for them without a

love of the laws and of justice, and without the most profound respect for the commands of your Majesty.

I beseech your Majesty then to pardon the inhabitants of Roslagen, and to add, to all your acts of goodness towards me, this new favour.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE BANK, WHO WAITED ON HIM ON HIS RECOVERY, AUG. 31st, 1811.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for the sentiments which you have expressed towards me; you well know those which animate me for the good of the nation.

During the illness with which it has pleased Heaven to visit me, I have suffered less from the derangement of my health, than from my grief at my inability to alleviate the labours of the King.

The prayers offered for my recovery have affected me extremely: the summit of my desires is, that Providence will grant me sufficient

length of life to see my hopes for Sweden realized.

Since the breaking up of the assembly of the States of the kingdom, the execution of a law, which ought to be sacred to all, namely, that relative to the defence of the country, has met with some opposition in two provinces, and especially in Scania. The authorities have been obliged to use force; but let us throw a veil over events the recollection of which afflicts me. Those who were led astray by a foreign influence, now implore the clemency of the King; and I owe it to truth to say, that nowhere have there been discovered any traces of an organized conspiracy against the Government.

His Majesty is generally satisfied with the zeal of the magistrates, and with the good feeling which animates all the inhabitants of the kingdom; everywhere the *extra-rotering*, (new formation of regiments from districts till then privileged,) is on the point of being enrolled in the army; and the 15,000 men required to recruit it are all ready for service, if the emergencies of the country should require it. By this means the land forces will consist of about 60,000 men, and our naval force will comprize 15,000 sailors. These forces appear to the

King sufficient to preserve the Swedish territory unviolated; but the intimate union which exists between him and the nation, is the strongest guarantee of our independence: this union will render the efforts which may be made to subdue us, as idle as the fury of the billows which break against our rocks.

Gentlemen, a most precious deposit is entrusted to you; that of the public fortune. I have seen, and I see with much sorrow, the attempts which are made against it by speculators in the public funds of the kingdom. The persons who persist in confounding Stock-jobbing with Commerce, lie under an error which may prove fatal to them. The Government will protect lawful commerce, it will encourage industry, but it will baffle speculation, and punish the stock-jobber.

If it be impolitic not to keep pace with the spirit of the age, it is specially so in the matter of finance. The most puissant governments in Europe offer us grand examples; let us learn to profit by their lessons.

NOTE FROM THE BARON D'ENGESTRÖM TO THE BARON DE CABRE.

Stockholm, Jan. 3, 1812.

I had the honour to acquaint you the day before yesterday, that the King, having addressed himself to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to complain of the piracies committed by the privateer, the Mercury, relied too much on the justice and friendship of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, to consider it necessary to detain the privateer until the arrival of an answer from Paris; and that, therefore, this vessel, with all the subjects of the Emperor who were on board of it, will be placed at your disposal whenever you desire.

It is to render this step the more official, that I have the honour of repeating this offer in writing.

Orders having been issued to bring the cruiser in question into a Swedish port, where it will be in greater security than in the Vaderön roads, I will not fail to inform you of the name of the port where it is stationed, as soon as I shall have received the intelligence.

[Orders were immediately issued, and the privateer sailed.]

NOTE FROM THE BARON DE CABRE TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE BARON D'ENGESTRÖM.

Stockholm, Jan. 4, 1812.

I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me yesterday, in which you acquaint me, "that his Majesty the King of Sweden deems it unnecessary to detain the French cruiser, the Mercury, until he has received an answer from Paris; and that this vessel and the subjects of the Emperor who were on board of it are at my disposal."

M. Baron, I know nothing about this affair except what you have had the goodness to communicate to me; I am absolutely ignorant of where the Mercury is: it is consequently impossible for me to transmit to the crew the new dispositions of the Court of Stockholm in their favour. In order, therefore, to give them their full effect, it is necessary for your Excellency to forward to the Swedish port, whither this vessel has been taken, the order of the King, to inform the commander that he may go wherever he pleases. I submit this measure to your discretion, M. Baron; and your Excellency will judge if it be proper.

Meanwhile, I hasten to inform his Excellency the Duke of Bassano of the contents of your letter of yesterday. I have likewise forwarded to him the documents relating to the same affair, which you have been pleased to communicate to me before.

AUG. DE CABRE.

REPORT MADE BY THE CROWN-PRINCE ON THE OCCASION OF HIS MAJESTY RESUMING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

Stockholm, Jan. 7, 1812.

Sire,

My fondest wishes have been fulfilled; and the health of your Majesty being reinstated, now permits you to resume the government of your kingdom. Suffer me to appeal to your own heart, that you may judge of the tender emotions which mine must feel in replacing in the hands of your Majesty a power, the prolonged exercise of which has constantly reminded me of the danger which menaced your life.

Notwithstanding the daily reports which I have laid before your Majesty on the external as well as the internal situation of the State, I think, nevertheless, that I ought to take advantage of this opportunity, so important to me in every respect, to present a rapid sketch of it to your Majesty.

When your Majesty determined on embracing the Continental policy, and on declaring war against Great Britain, Sweden was just emerging from an unfortunate contest; her wounds were still bleeding; she was forced to make new sacrifices at the very moment of her losing one of the principal branches of her public revenues, almost the entire of the produce of her Customs.

Notwithstanding this isolated state, she has done for the interest of the common cause all that could be expected of a people faithful to its engagements; more than two millions of rix-dollars have been expended in re-organizing the army, and putting in a state of defence our coasts, our isles, our fortresses, and our fleet.

I will not conceal from your Majesty that our commerce, reduced as it were to a simple coasting-trade from port to port, has suffered much from this state of war. Privateers under friendly flags, against whom it would have been wrongful to take measures of safety and precau-

tion, have profited by our reliance on treaties, to capture one after the other nearly fifty of our ships. But at length, Sire, your flotilla has received orders to protect the Swedish flag, and the harmless commerce of your subjects against piracies, which could be neither avowed nor authorized by any government.

The captures by Danish cruisers have caused many protests to be made on our part; but the injuries diminish daily, and every thing seems to hold out the hope that the lawful commerce of Sweden will be no longer disturbed, and that the relations of good neighbourhood will be more and more strengthened.

The cruisers under the French flag have given an unlimited extension to their letters of marque; the injuries they have done us have been made the subject of protests; the justice and good faith of the Emperor of the French warrant us in hoping that they will be redressed.

The protections given by friendly Governments have been respected; and those of their vessels which have touched on our coasts, have been free to continue their course, whatever may have been their destination.

About fifty American vessels, cast on our shores by successive tempests, have been re-

leased: this act of justice, founded on the law of nations, has been appreciated by the United States, and appearances promise us that more definite relations with their Government will facilitate the exportation of those great stores of iron, which encumber our public magazines.

Political considerations unite with the family ties which bind your Majesty to the King of Prussia, in consolidating the friendly relations which exist between the two powers.

The peace with Russia cannot be disturbed; the treaties which have cemented it are executed on either part with honesty and good faith.

Our relations with the empire of Austria are on the most friendly footing: glorious recollections unite the two nations, and your Majesty neglects nothing which can contribute to maintain the reciprocity of confidence and esteem which they beget.

Whenever the affairs of Spain and Portugal become more settled, these countries will offer to the commerce of Sweden advantages which warrant the improvements which she has introduced in the working of her iron-mines.

Our relations with South America have entirely ceased; civil war ravages those beautiful but unfortunate countries; when they pos-

sess a regular government, the produce of the kingdom will find there an advantageous mart.

The maritime war has interrupted our commercial relations with Turkey, but nothing which concerns this ancient ally of Sweden can be indifferent to your Majesty.

Sire! Such are the external relations of Sweden. Justice and good faith towards nations are the rules of the policy of your Majesty, in like manner as the independence and the happiness of your subjects are the end which it proposes.

The army, and the finances, those two principal guarantees of the preservation of the State, have eminently engaged my constant solicitude.

A prudent economy has directed the employment of the funds destined for the armaments which the state of war rendered necessary. This war, by its essential effect on the exportation of articles of Swedish produce upon the general progress of commerce, and upon the minds of commercial men, had caused the exchanges to rise in an exorbitant degree. I employed myself particularly in arresting this scourge of states, which when it has once broken its banks, knows no bounds to its ravages. By repressing on one hand the speculations in the

funds, by calling into force the ancient ordinances against the illicit exportation of gold and silver, by imposing a transit duty on the transportation of ingots arriving in Sweden from foreign countries, by trying to recall the nation to the principles of economy which distinguished their ancestors, I endeavoured on the other hand to give an impulse to the internal industry and to the lawful commerce of Sweden.

I have had the satisfaction to see my efforts crowned with success, and that the course of exchange with Hamburgh, which had risen to 136 sk. the 19th of March, improved to 84 sk. the 3rd of January.

I have taken measures to encourage and render more general the cultivation of flax and hemp; to give activity to the search for salt-mines; to continue the cultivation of lands in Dalecarlia; to establish a new communication and new markets in Vermland; to form a company for the herring-fishery in the high seas; to extend the commercial relations with Finland; to put in execution the financial resolutions of the States of the kingdom; and to recognize the direction of the magazines, and of the Customs, and the government of the Isle of St. Barthelemy.

The harvest not having been plentiful, I have

resolved on means to prevent a scarcity by importing corn from abroad, with a permission, in order that this importation may not affect the course of exchange, to export salt on being bound to take grain in return. This exchange can be the more easily effected, as there still exists a sufficient provision of salt in the country for two years' consumption.

I have observed with sorrow that the immoderate use and manufacture of brandy from a preference of private interest to the public good, will demoralize the nation, and expose it sooner or later to an inevitable famine. I have only been able to use exhortations on this subject, which I have borrowed from the paternal sentiments of your Majesty; and I leave to a future time, and to the wisdom of the kingdom, the care of stopping an evil which every individual acknowledges, but which perpetually increases.

I have paid particular attention to the state and organization of the hospitals, to the religious establishments, and to the means of preventing, or at least of relieving mendicity.

The Police of the Interior, and Agriculture have not been lost sight of; and a central academy of Agriculture has been just formed, for the purpose of giving an impulse and encouragement to public economy and to statistical

knowledge, which will contribute to insure the prosperity of the State.

The works on the canal of Gotha, that grand monument of the reign of your Majesty, have been prosecuted with great activity. Those of the canal of Södertelje, stopped by obstacles which the zeal of the directors could not surmount, will resume a more rapid progress.

I have put into execution the solemn resolution of the States of the kingdom, sanctioned by your Majesty, concerning the national armament; but careful not to take away from the labours of agriculture more than the arms indispensably necessary for the defence of the country, I only ordered a levy of 15,000 men, out of the 50,000 whom the States had placed at the disposal of your Majesty. Fatal errors breaking out in Scania even to acts of violence, and an open rebellion, threatened for a moment to impede the execution of the measures which had been ordered. Already our enemies, or those who envied our purpose, began to rejoice at our intestine dissensions, when they were quickly suppressed by the united force of arms and of the laws, by the re-action of national feeling, and of the sentiments of duty. The skeletons of the new *rotering* are nearly filled up, and all the requisite measures have been

taken to employ them usefully. The regular army has been recruited, and, as well as the reserve, new clothed, and supplied with arms in good condition. A sufficient quantity of them has been found in the magazines, and the manufactures of arms have received a new activity. The manufacture of gunpowder and saltpetre has been enlarged and improved. The artillery is in a respectable condition.

Pensions to be granted to officers and soldiers wounded in service have been either established or augmented. The fund for the expences of the late war has been realised; and measures successively adopted have had no other end than to render the troops fit to march, and to furnish all their wants.

Your Majesty will deign to observe by this sketch, that, although the detractors of Sweden have dared to say that it would take sixty years before she could organize an army of 60,000 men, she will notwithstanding be able to show herself in the month of April next, to the friends, as well as to the enemies of your Majesty. The end of this augmentation of our military forces is purely defensive. With no other ambition than that of preserving her liberty and her laws, Sweden wishes to be able to defend herself; and she can do it. Bounded on one

side by the sea, on the other by inaccessible mountains, it is not alone on the courage of her inhabitants, nor on her bright recollections of glory, that she depends for the preservation of her independence; she has besides these her local position, her mountains, her forests, her lakes, her frozen regions. Let her learn, then, to profit by these united advantages; and let her inhabitants be thoroughly persuaded of this truth, that if the iron, offspring of the womb of their mountains, prepares the harvests by furrowing their fields, it is also iron alone, and the determined resolution to make use of it, that can defend them.

I have been seconded in my efforts by the fidelity and good spirit of the army, by the zeal and intelligence of the public functionaries.

The magistracy have maintained their ancient reputation; they have had painful duties to fulfil; but they have gained a new title to public esteem. The different departments of the Chancery of the State have rivalled each other in bestowing on the affairs coming under their cognizance all the dispatch which is compatible with the formalities required by our laws and customs.

The office of Secretary of State for Religious Worship has dispatched, since the 17th of

March, nearly 600 cases; that of the Interior, 952; that of Finances and Commerce, 1653; and of War, 2535.

The cases which have not received the final decision, and which are confined in every department to a very small number in comparison with the relative extent of their business, are of a nature to require either the resolution of your Majesty, or farther evidence.

If your Majesty deigns to perceive in the picture I have submitted to you, the desire I have had to justify the exalted confidence which your Majesty has reposed in me, it will be, next to the joy I feel at the recovery of your Majesty, the most agreeable recompense for my labours. May Heaven, in accordance with my vows, preserve the life of your Majesty; and may Sweden, protected, Sire, by your virtues, find a lasting source of future prosperity in the absolute devotion which my heart has vowed towards your Majesty, in the respectful attachment of my Son, in the sanctity of the laws of the State, in the uprightness of the public functionaries, in the union, the courage, and the patriotism of the Swedes!

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Feb. 11, 1812.

Sire,

The reports which have just arrived bring intelligence that a division of the army under the orders of the Prince of Eckmühl, invaded the territory of Swedish Pomerania on the night of the 26-27th of Jan. This division has pursued its march, has entered the capital of the duchy, and has occupied the Isle of Rugen.

The King waits for your Majesty to make known the causes which have induced you to act in a manner so diametrically opposite to existing treaties. My ancient relations with your Majesty authorize me in supplicating you not to delay an explanation of the motives, in order that I may give the King my opinion on the line of policy which Sweden ought now to adopt.

The outrage gratuitously committed on Sweden is deeply felt by the people, and doubly, Sire, by myself, who am charged with the honourable duty of defending them. Although I

have contributed to render France triumphant, although I have constantly desired to see her respected and happy, it never has entered into my thoughts to sacrifice the interests, the honour, and the independence of the Country which has adopted me. Your Majesty, so good a judge in this affair, has already penetrated into my resolutions. Little jealous as I am of the glory and the power which surround you, I am jealous, Sire, of not being regarded as a vassal. Your Majesty commands the greater part of Europe, but your dominion does not extend to the country whither I have been called. My ambition is bounded to the desire of defending it, and I regard that as the lot which Providence has marked out for me. The effect produced by the invasion, of which I complain, upon this people, may have incalculable consequences; and although I may be no Coriolanus, nor the people whom I command Volsci, yet I have a sufficiently good opinion of the Swedes to assure you, Sire, that they are capable of daring every thing, and of enterprizing every thing, to avenge affronts which they have not provoked, and to preserve rights to which they cling perhaps as tenaciously as to their existence.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE, ON RECEIVING A MEDAL FROM THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, FEB. 12, 1812.

Gentlemen,

The immortal Linnæus cherished hopes which you have realized. Animated like him by a love of the Sciences, you will like him extend their influence by diffusing fresh knowledge. Continue occupied in the search after truth and utility.

Under a King, who loves the cultivation of the Sciences, who protects and encourages them, your example will inspire our youth with a taste for study; and the habit which they will thence contract, will take root, and will identify itself with their existence. Your writings will have a great influence on the morals and the genius of the nation. Recollect that the truths which electrify the soul by enlightening the understanding are those which contribute the most to the maintenance of peace and liberty.

Gentlemen,—Let us imitate those men who of old rendered Scandinavia famous. Superior to all private interest, they triumphed over their enemies and their rivals, because they were always united when the safety or the glory of

the country required it. The trophies which public gratitude erected to them, still do honour to the Swedish name. It is by treading in the footsteps of these celebrated men, by esteeming like them the respectable name of citizen, and by ranking it among the most glorious of titles, that we shall preserve our independence and our rank among nations.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

Stockholm, March 7, 1812.

The occupation of Swedish Pomerania by the French troops induces the King to dispatch the Count de Löwenhielm, his principal Aide-de-camp, to your Imperial Majesty. This officer, who enjoys the entire confidence of his Sovereign, is ordered to make known to your Majesty the causes which have served as a pretext to this invasion, in diametrical opposition to existing treaties.

The successive union of the coasts of the

Mediterranean, of Holland, and of the Baltic; the hemming in of the interior of Germany ought to have convinced princes, the least clear-sighted, that the old system being discarded, was about to give way to a new system, which, destroying all degrees of balance, would unite a crowd of nations under one single chief. The tributary monarchs, alarmed at this ever increasing domination, await in consternation the developement of this vast plan.

In the midst of this universal mourning, the eyes of men are turned towards your Majesty; already are they raised, and they look up to you, Sire, with the confidence of hope. But allow me to observe to your Majesty, that to secure any success in life, there is nothing like the magic of the first instant; so long as its power continues, every thing depends on the person who dares to act: the astonished are incapable of reflection, and all yield to the will and the impulse of that charm which they fear, or which they admire.

Deign, Sire, to receive with kindness the expression of my gratitude for the sentiments which your Majesty bears towards me. If any thing remains for me to wish, it is for the continuation of a happiness which I shall always deserve from the value which I attach to it.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, March 24th, 1812.

The notes have just arrived, and I hasten to disclose my opinions on them with all the frankness which distinguishes my character.

When the wishes of the Swedish people called me to the succession of the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, to be able always to reconcile my personal affections with the interests of my new country; my heart nourished the hope that it could identify itself with the feelings of this people, and preserve at the same time the recollections of its first affections, never losing sight of the glory of France, or of the sincere attachment which it has vowed to your Majesty—an attachment founded on a brotherhood in arms, which so many mighty deeds have adorned.

It was with this hope that I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation generally attached to France, but still more to its liberty and its laws; ambitious, Sire, of your friendship, but never desiring to obtain it at the expence of their honour and independence. Your Majesty's Minister has chosen to outrage this national

sentiment, and his arrogance has spoilt every thing; his communications do not bear any marks of the respect which crowned heads mutually owe one another: in fulfilling your Majesty's intentions, in accordance with his own passions, the Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman Proconsul, without reflecting that he was not addressing himself to slaves.

This Minister, then, has been the principal cause of the distrust which Sweden has begun to entertain of your Majesty's intentions towards her: subsequent occurrences have naturally added to it an additional weight.

I have already, Sire, had the honour of representing to your Imperial Majesty, by my letters of the 19th of November and the 8th of December, 1810, the situation of Sweden, and the desire which she had of finding a supporter in your Majesty; in your Majesty's silence she has observed only an undeserved indifference, and she has found it necessary to prepare herself against the storm which is ready to burst on the Continent.

Sire, humanity has already suffered too much. For these twenty years, the earth has been glutted with human blood; and it is only wanting to the glory of your Majesty to prevent its farther effusion.

If your Majesty think proper that the King should make known to the Emperor Alexander the possibility of a reconciliation, I augur sufficiently well of the magnanimity of that Monarch, to dare to assure you that he will listen to overtures, equally advantageous for your empire, and for the North: if an event so unexpected and so universally desired could take place, how would the people of the Continent bless your Majesty! Their gratitude would be increased by the fear under which they at present suffer of the return of a scourge which has borne so heavily on them, and whose ravages have left such cruel traces.

Sire—one of the happiest moments I have known since I left France, was that which assured me that your Majesty had not altogether forgotten me. Your Majesty has judged right of my heart; you have discovered how much it must be harassed by the grievous prospect of seeing the interests of Sweden on the point of being separated from those of France, or of sacrificing those of a country which has reposed in me the most unbounded confidence. Sire; although a Swede by honour, by duty, and by religion, I yet identify myself by my wishes with that lovely France which gave me birth, and which I have faithfully served from my child-

hood: each step I make in Sweden, the homages which I receive there, awake in my mind those bright recollections of glory, which have been the principal cause of my elevation; and I never conceal from myself that Sweden, in nominating me, wished to pay a tribute of esteem to the French people.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE STATES-GENERAL, APRIL 27th, 1812.

Deputies of the States General,

When the King, in consequence of the uncertain state of his health, deigned to entrust me with the government of the kingdom, this mark of his confidence would have been painful to my heart, if I had not first been reassured by my knowledge of the real character of his malady.

On assuming the reins of government, I knew beforehand the obstacles which I should have to surmount, and the difficulties which it would be necessary for me to conquer.

Convinced that a well-disciplined army is the essential strength of a state, I employed myself in the execution of the resolutions taken for its augmentation.

The events which followed have proved to us, that good laws are not sufficient of themselves to preserve nations from ruin, but that they also require courageous armies to defend them.

You will have, then, to occupy yourselves, Gentlemen, with all that relates to the recruiting: your decision will determine the destinies of Sweden; and, if I may trust to my presentiment, we shall see the return of those brilliant days, when, respected abroad and tranquil at home, she raised herself by her close union and confidence in her Sovereign, to that elevated degree of glory which was the basis of her prosperity.

Your thanks, Gentlemen, are the more flattering to me, as no personal views have drawn me aside from the noble ambition of rendering my new country flourishing: from the bottom of my soul I can say with pride, that never did Swede entertain sincerer wishes for her liberty and independence. For myself, I desire neither glory nor happiness: the glory and happiness of the Swedes are my only aim, and they will

always be the main spring of my actions. This self-denial I communicate to my Son; his young soul receives these impressions, and I see with pleasure that his respect for the Swedish nation already renders him worthy one day to command them.

The wishes which you have expressed before the throne, are a new proof to me of your affection. May the day be far remote when I shall be compelled to fulfil the new task which the confidence of the King and you impose upon me! The remembrance of the important services performed by his Majesty for his country, ought to make every Swedish heart pray that the Almighty may be pleased to prolong his days. His paternal goodness towards me has penetrated my soul with the most lively gratitude; and if my vows are accomplished, Heaven reserves for me the happiness of long profiting by his instructions and his experience.

NOTE PRESENTED BY M. D'OHSSON, SWEDISH CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AT PARIS, TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUC DE BASSANO.

May 28th, 1812.

The injuries committed by privateers under the French flag against the Swedish commerce, increasing to an incredible degree, and extending even to provisions, which their avidity included in the regulations as it suited them, of necessity imposed on the King the sacred obligation of seeking to inform himself, as well as his subjects, on a state of affairs which gave to peace all the character of war.

The privateer the Mercury, being stationed on the Swedish coast, in order to exercise its piracies at pleasure, and having thus made itself an enemy *de facto,* was at length seized in its cruises, and brought into a Swedish harbour, from a motive of self-defence which could not be mistaken.

The King, who had never for a single moment doubted of the sentiments of justice which animate his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, had on different occasions addressed that Sovereign to complain of the conduct of the French cruisers, so diametri-

cally in opposition to the nature of the relations which existed between the two Courts, to the tenor of treaties, and even to that of the letters of marque, with which those cruisers were provided. His Majesty, however, not having obtained any answer to the just complaints, which the interests of his people impelled him to make, sent immediately, on receiving news of the seizure of the privateer the Mercury, an extraordinary courier to the undersigned, with the view of placing in all its bearings before the eyes of the French Ministers, a summary both of what had happened, and of what Sweden desired as a guarantee for the future. The undersigned fulfilled these orders on the 15th of January last, and this communication also remains unanswered.

While in expectation of this, and when his Majesty, only listening to his sentiments of esteem and friendship for his Imperial and Royal Majesty, was now yielding to his well-founded hopes, he learned that a very considerable corps of French troops had, on the 27th of January, entered Swedish Pomerania. The French Chargé d'Affaires residing at Stockholm was invited to explain himself on the motives of this sudden and unexpected invasion; but he professed the most entire ignorance on the sub-

ject. The undersigned addressed his Excellency M. the Duc de Bassano, to the same effect, and obtained for answer, that he must wait for his orders from the Court of Sweden.

These orders, confining themselves to the demand of a frank and open explanation of the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor and King, with reference to the occupation of Pomerania, were forwarded on the 4th and 7th of February from Stockholm. These dispatches have never reached the undersigned.

The interruption of the ordinary course of letters destined for Sweden having commenced soon after the French invasion of Pomerania, the certainty of the search made at Hamburgh after money lodged there on the account of Sweden, the seizure and even sale of Swedish vessels in the ports of Mecklenburgh and Dantzic, opened a vast field for conjectures. In order to obtain accurate information of the state of affairs in Swedish Pomerania, the King dispatched General D'Engelbrechten thither to hold parley with the French General; but having speedily learnt that the General, Count Friant, had refused to receive the Swedish General, or even to return an answer in writing to the letter which the latter had addressed to him, his Majesty then thought that he disco-

vered a regular system in the ignorance in which it was desired that Sweden should be kept, as well on general affairs, as on those which interested her individually.

Notwithstanding all the precautions to the contrary, many details were learnt of the conduct of the French troops in Pomerania, a conduct which ill agreed with that show of friendship which it seemed to be an object to attach to the invasion of that province, the integrity of which, just as much as that of Sweden, had been guaranteed by his Majesty the Emperor in the treaty of Paris.

Public functionaries arrested, dragged even to Hamburgh, threatened with the most rigorous treatment to make them violate their duties and their oaths; the King's chests put under seals; the vessels of his Majesty forced, by firing on them, to remain, and then unladen and confiscated for the benefit of France; onerous burthens imposed on a country which had scarce had time to recover from the misfortunes which it had suffered; and lastly, the disarming of the Swedish troops which were placed there; all these motives joined together were sufficient to justify the desire of the King to receive an explanation, which

was alike demanded by the dignity of Sovereigns, and by the stipulations of the treaties subsisting between Sweden and France.

The King had no engagement with any other powers contrary to the treaty which bound him to France, and the conditions of which it was his Majesty's constant desire to perform. If British squadrons protected the coasting trade of Sweden, that conduct was gratuitous on their part, and arose doubtless from a desire of opposing their measures to those adopted by the privateers of powers in friendship with Sweden. If the Swedish vessels, which carried the produce of their country into the ports of Germany, made use of English licences to escape from the enemy's cruisers, they could never expect to be confiscated on their arrival, knowing as they did for certain, that Dantzic vessels, bound for England, had passed the Sound, furnished with licences from his Majesty the Emperor and King.

If the King, attacked by France in one of his provinces, then began to take measures for the safety of his kingdom, his Majesty flatters himself that his Imperial and Royal Majesty himself would not have acted differently had he

been placed in the same situation. Any thing may be denied except actual facts, and it is on facts alone that the King relies.

In consequence of the above stated facts, his Majesty has ordered the undersigned to declare officially to his Excellency the Duc de Bassano:

That the King protests formally against the invasion of Swedish Pomerania by the French troops.

That his Majesty can only look on this invasion as a violation of the treaty of peace between Sweden and France: that by reason of the principles of moderation which his Majesty desires to follow in his line of policy, and of the continuance of his sentiments towards France, his Majesty does not yet consider himself in a state of war with her, but looks to her Government for a frank and open explanation of the invasion of Pomerania.

That to establish a perfect reciprocity until this explanation be made, the payment of the interest and capital of the sums due to the countries united to France by virtue of the Imperial decrees, shall be suspended, which measure will be continued until the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania, and the re-esta-

blishment of good harmony between the two Courts.

That, lastly, as the military occupation of Swedish Pomerania has placed his Majesty in a condition to consider himself entirely liberated from the private engagements which he had contracted with France, and especially of the obligation to continue a war, which Sweden only undertook by reason of her adhesion to the Continental system, which adhesion was merely the condition attached to the restitution of Pomerania; the King declares, that he henceforth considers himself in a state of neutrality with France and England; that in following up this system adopted by his Majesty, he will employ all the means in his power to protect the neutral flag of Sweden against depredations which have only owed their continuance to his long patience.

Sweden, attached to France since the time of Francis I. only desires to ally her affections with the maintenance of the independence of the North. The King, therefore, would be deeply grieved if he saw himself forced to sacrifice his natural inclination to the grand interests of his country, which reject servitude as they abhor shame. But firmly resolved to sus-

tain the dignity of his crown, and the liberty of the people whom he governs, his Majesty will quietly await for the farther developement of events.

The undersigned beseeches his Excellency the Duc de Bassano to have the goodness to make known the contents of this note to his Majesty the Emperor and King, and to communicate to the undersigned, as soon as it is possible, the answer of his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

The undersigned has the honour, &c.

C. D'Ohsson.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE STATES-GENERAL ON THE CLOSING OF THE DIET, AUG. 18, 1812.

Deputies of the Nobility;

The Diet which has just closed will be celebrated in the annals of the country. Notwithstanding the din of arms which resounds from the banks of the Dwina to the shores of the Tagus; notwithstanding the menaces of some of

our neighbours, your deliberations have that stamp of calmness which always distinguishes valour and justice. The nobility have acquired new claims on the esteem and benevolence of the King: this order will always follow the honourable example of their ancestors, and when the glory of their country shall require it, they will esteem the sacrifice of their lives as the dearest and the most precious of their duties. If circumstances ordain it, if Sweden cannot hope to cultivate her fields in peace, the King will appeal to your courage, and our rallying word shall be,—God, our Liberty, and our Country!

Members of the Clergy;

I have seen with pleasure, and I know how to appreciate, the spirit of concord and peace which has reigned during the course of this Diet. This concord and this harmony of opinions are principally owing to the patriotism and the devotion, of which all the orders of the kingdom have given proofs. May your hearts enjoy the sweetest of all recompenses in the remembrance of having co-operated for a salutary end!

Return to your dioceses and to the places of which the spiritual guidance is entrusted to

you; try to instil the precepts of Jesus Christ into all hearts, and be indefatigable in spreading abroad the beneficent light of his doctrine.

I recommend to your prayers the King, the Country, and my Son.

Members of the order of Citizens;

The useful and estimable class, which you represent, will always enjoy the protection of the King: commerce, trade, and national industry, are the first sources of prosperity to a country. The solicitude of the King for their increase must convince you that no fetters will be placed on your transactions.

His Majesty hopes that the order of Citizens will second his efforts for the maintenance of public credit and prosperity.

The King has seen with joy the concord which has reigned in your discussions on the question of assigning funds for the indispensable wants of the State. It is a true pleasure to me to give you this testimony of his satisfaction.

Good and honourable Peasants;

The love which you have shown towards your King, the new proofs which you have given him of your attachment to his person and

to your country, would augment, if it were possible, the sentiments of love which I vowed to you from the first moment I saw you. Continue to do honour to Sweden by your bravery and your virtues. Let the peasants of foreign countries envy the just esteem which your country has sworn for you. The King places unlimited confidence in your sentiments for him, and will never in vain claim the support of your order. He will always behold in you the supports of his throne, and you ought always to regard him as the foremost defender of your rights.

If, in consequence of the crisis in which Europe is now involved, your children should be called upon to fight for our religion, our rights, and our laws, I will follow them, I will share their hardships, I will try to relieve their wants, and in the moment of danger I will be to them as a father.

Carry back to your hearths the spirit of concord which has guided your actions during the course of this Diet; and repeat to your constituents, that the happiness of nations rests on an intimate union with their sovereign, and on an obedience to the laws of the kingdom.

ON THE EDUCATION OF PRINCE OSCAR.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE BARON CEDERHJELM.

Stockholm, Oct. 29th, 1812.

I have begged the King to appoint you governor of my son, the Prince Oscar; and his Majesty is pleased to comply with my request. Your merit has determined his choice.

You are about to form the mind of my Son, and to develope his character; his happy dispositions will assist you. By exerting yourself to inculcate in him the manners and the customs of the country, in a word, the national character, you will satisfy my desires; let his education be entirely Swedish, and the nation will owe you all the good which such an education must produce.

You will strengthen in his heart the sentiments of religion, of morality, and of love for the laws and his country.

You will supply his thoughts with the examples of good kings; and you will also excite in his soul that thirst for true glory, which ought always to have for its object the desire of being useful to his fellow-creatures, and of contributing to their happiness.

My Son is of an age when the impressions that are received, last for life: you should therefore guard against his forming false ideas of what is called character; the firmness, which ought to be the basis of that of a prince, should never be considered a virtue, except when it is employed to a good purpose.

It will be easy for you to make him understand, that his duty is always in accordance with the impulse of his heart, when the succour of the unfortunate is in question; and that his benefactions ought to bear the stamp of magnanimity, and never that of ostentation or of prodigality.

The indigent classes ought to excite the solicitude of a prince; I desire that my Son may be impressed with this principle.

A prince should be proof against either fear or suspicion; he should not hesitate to expose his own life to ensure the glory and the well-being of his country. He should judge without passion, and with that imposing calmness which distinguishes good sovereigns. Apply yourself, my Lord, to impress these principles on the heart of my Son; I entrust him to you at a period when he has strength to receive them, that you may cherish all those ideas which may combine for the happiness of Swe-

den. Repeat to him unceasingly, that one of the greatest scourges which Heaven can inflict on a nation, is a feeble prince; that the overthrow of states, civil war, and the slavery of nations, are usually the fatal consequence of the timidity of sovereigns; that war is the most terrible of all evils which can befal a state, but that there are occasions when it is a salutary remedy, to restore energy to a nation, to force it to resume its ancient character, and to preserve it from the evil of losing its name by sinking into a province of another empire; that when a kingdom is thus menaced, and when it cannot avoid shame without an appeal to the fate of war, the prince has no longer the power of election; he must dare every thing, and enterprize every thing to maintain the independence of his country. It is then that the energies of his soul should develope themselves; it is then that every circumstance demands that he should surround himself with men of probity and courage, whatever may be their political opinions on other points, since his great end is to preserve his country; and the true means to preserve a country is to combine against the oppressor.

You will guard my Son against reposing his confidence in the indiscreet and the prodigal;

the first will betray it from self-love, the last from their mercenary dispositions.

Religion, history, geography, statistics, mathematics, the elements of ancient and modern literature, drawing, and bodily exercise, will form the education of my Son for two years; after which I will beg the King to permit another system to be followed.

The study of religion leads to that of a mild and beneficent morality. With such sentiments you will fill the heart of my Son.

He should be acquainted with the history of all nations, but in pursuing this study, you ought to direct him principally to distinguish that of their governments, their laws, and the influence they have had on the manners and public happiness. The art of war ought more particularly to fix the attention of my Son. In our days a Prince ought to be a General; we have seen the fatal results of opposing a general who was responsible to his master, against a chief whose decision was absolute. My Son, then, must be accustomed betimes to brave the seasons, and to make the most of his bodily strength, lest a too sedentary life should influence his active powers, or those habits of personal inspection of affairs so necessary for a Prince. Journeys over mountains, visits to

mines, swimming and riding, are exercises which develope the energies of the mind, by reminding him of war, and awakening the idea of danger, which must ever be present to become familiar.

The study of geography should be regularly followed up by statistics, and especially by those of Sweden. With these my Son should be acquainted in their most trifling details, in order that he may form a just idea of the resources of the kingdom, and not yield to illusions dangerous for the people and for himself. It is my wish that this part of his education should not be confined to a mere superficial knowledge: as it is necessary that his knowledge of this branch should be thorough, it should be impressed on his memory by travels, and by intercourse with the best informed men of each state. In the provinces, the peasants and enlightened agriculturists of the district which he is visiting, will give him ideas on the fertility of their soil, on the nature of their productions, on the price of their provisions, on the taxes with which their lands are charged, &c. In the towns, the governors will instruct him on the general administration of their province, and lawyers of eminence will form his society during his stay there. Their

conversation will serve to give him an outline of the jurisprudence and the laws of Sweden, until the time when his age shall permit him to prosecute the study of the law. It will be necessary to take advantage of the curiosity which the dawn of knowledge will excite in the mind of my Son, to conduct him to all places where there will be any thing to learn. These excursions may be made an inducement to read, before and after, whatever may relate to the objects in question. When he visits ships, he should acquire a knowledge of the most celebrated naval battles; and a skilful seaman should accompany him, to explain the manœuvres which decided those engagements. When he inspects a fortress, he should be accompanied by an engineer, to explain to him on the spot the science of fortification, and of the attack and defence of places. He will find in Smith all the necessary information on finances and manufactures. The works of Winckelmann will give him a just idea of the fine arts; and he will form his literary taste by reading the most celebrated authors.

The great difficulty in education is to command the willingness of the pupil. It is important, then, to give my Son historical books which he shall have pleasure in reading, and

which he may peruse alone. He must give an account of what he has read by word of mouth rather than by writing; for a power of speaking is a primary attainment for a prince of Sweden. I think, therefore, that for the purpose of improving him in the art of speaking, you should invite as his visitors, once or twice a week, from seven o'clock till nine in the evening, persons whom you shall choose, and with whose merit you are acquainted.

I wish my Son to consecrate a portion of his time to foreign literature. He will there learn to distinguish the characteristics of other nations, and to converse with foreigners on subjects which are out of the usual routine of the conversation of princes.

It now remains for me to fix the hours of work for my Son, and his domestic habits. He will rise at half-past seven, that he may begin his studies at eight, and he will continue them till eleven.

At eleven, he will breakfast with his tutors and his gentlemen in waiting; from half-past eleven till one o'clock will be set apart for recreation.

On Sundays only, two persons of your selection will be admitted to his breakfast.

From one o'clock till five in the afternoon

he will continue his studies; at half-past five he will come to dine with me on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; on other days he will dine at home. It is in company and at table that by little and little we learn to form opinions of men, and to penetrate their character. The habit of mixing with the world gives ease and grace, and removes that timidity so common in children educated in solitude and privacy, and so dangerous for a prince, whom it would expose to become the dupe of impudence, and of those who gain credit by a decided and peremptory tone. When dining with me, my Son will find the first men in Sweden assembled, so that this society will assist his education without his feeling the restraint of study.

From seven till nine in the evening my Son will alternately spend his time in paying his respects to their Majesties, either at the theatre, or at some ball, or in the parties which he should give once or twice a week, and of which I have spoken above. At ten o'clock he should always have retired to rest.

Thus my Son will work seven hours a day; this appears a sufficient time for his age. It remains for you, my Lord, to determine the nature of the studies which should occupy each

hour, in conformity with my desires on this subject.

One of the points which I would have most seriously impressed, is the tender respect which my Son ought always to show towards the King. In every thing his wishes should be those of his Majesty himself. All his actions ought to have for their aim to adorn the old age of his Majesty; and he ought to have it constantly present to his thoughts, that no repentance can atone for the slightest disquietude he may occasion him.

I seize with pleasure this opportunity, Baron Cederhjelm, to renew to you my assurance of the sentiments with which you inspired me from the moment I became acquainted with you; and I pray God to have you in his holy and worthy keeping, and to grant his blessing on your labours.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE STUDENTS OF UPSALA, ON THEIR PRESENTING HIM A MEDAL, NOV. 29, 1812.

Gentlemen,

I receive with gratitude the expression of the sentiments which you have just manifested towards me. The medal which you offer is the token of them; it will remind me of one of the moments in my life which I shall always recollect with pleasure, that, when I went to visit the abode of science and of literature.

You are the hope of the country; profit by the benefits of a good education; it is that which forms and distinguishes men, it ennobles the sentiments, it exalts the courage, and gives that enthusiasm to the soul which directs it to every thing that is grand and sublime. It forms the magistrate, the warrior, the statesman, and the artist; in a word, it is education that makes us love our country, for it creates our best citizens.

Religion is the warrant of reciprocal honesty between men; its morality raises the soul above all fears, and aids it in supporting all the troubles of life.

I have learnt with pleasure that you are convinced of all these truths; your good conduct, and the talents you develope, give me an assurance that you will preserve that liberty which you owe to the perseverance and the courage of your ancestors.

Continue, Gentlemen, what you have so happily begun, and reckon on the favour of the King, on the gratitude of the Country, on my gratitude, and on my peculiar protection.

DISCOURSE OF THE CROWN-PRINCE,
ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE,
ON HIS INSTALLATION.

Jan. 28, 1813.

Gentlemen,

I have proposed to the King to found an academy for agriculture; his Majesty has deigned to consent to it, and to nominate me President. Similar establishments exist in almost every state; their public utility was the cause of their institution. But there is perhaps scarcely any country where agriculture

can present so vast a career to the industry and the hopes of good citizens. Sweden is almost equal in extent to ancient France, and its population is ten times less numerous. There are doubtless parts of the kingdom to which Heaven has not granted fertility, but there are many also which might be cultivated, but which are still barren. The progress of agriculture is favourable to the spirit of order and of liberty. It gives to the inhabitants of a country steady and continual occupation, which leads them away from factious agitations, ever injurious to the prosperity of a state, and renders more dear to them the country which they have themselves formed by their labours. The most industrious nations have acknowledged the imperious necessity of extending agriculture; and distinguished writers on political economy assert, that the nations which have carried it to the highest perfection, owe to it likewise the improvement of arts, of sciences, and of letters.

I do not, Gentlemen, conceal from myself the great difficulties which you will have to conquer before you obtain the first results. Our good peasants, accustomed from their childhood to the practices which they inherited from their fathers, will not adopt any others

without previously witnessing their good effects. We must address them, Gentlemen, in the language of experience, and demonstrate to them, that agricultural speculations succeed in the highest degree in free countries, because it is under the empire of the laws alone that we can trust in the future. Neither must it be concealed that the progress of agriculture requires considerable outlay. We must deprive ourselves for a moment that we may reap the fruits; but how fully are we repaid for our sacrifices! All classes of society gain by the improvement of the cultivation of the earth. The merchant barters the productions of the soil against the articles which he is obliged to procure from abroad; the manufacturers, by the aid of these same productions, make their first materials; and lastly, the State sees its defenders multiplied by the augmentation of its resources. The chief riches of Sweden consist in its extent of soil. Uncultivated lands, and unwholesome marshes, may, in the course of years, be covered with harvests. In some cases, agricultural industry has even contrived to fertilize rocks; and we may see in this, as in all free countries, the agriculturist developing the fecundity of nature in spite of all obstacles.

I have passed my life in camps and in the

midst of the tumult of arms; I know better than any other the evils of war, and I feel with proportionate acuteness the necessity of repairing them. Scandinavia, more happy in this respect than the Spanish Peninsula, but not less animated than her by a love of independence, is sheltered from foreign invasions. The inclemency of the climate protects her, and the bravery of the Swedish troops is an additional rampart, not less formidable than the ocean of the Baltic. The inhabitants of the country may therefore cultivate their lands without apprehension. I promise, in the name of the army, in the name of the intrepid warriors who compose it, that the laborious tiller of the soil shall henceforth gather in peace the fruit of his toils, nor fear that any domineering ruler will come to break his ploughshare, to burn his harvests, and to overthrow our laws.

The scarcity with which we were threatened this year is, I hope, happily prevented by the pains which the King has taken to procure from abroad corn and pulse of every kind. Our good understanding with Russia and England has been useful to us in the two calamitous years which have just passed: the assistance we have received from them affords salutary lessons. They show us what remains to be

done to place us henceforward in security from want and famine.

The Government has been regulated in its policy by truth and justice: the only guides which God authorizes, because they alone can bring internal prosperity to a state. But how great a service will you render us, Gentlemen, if you can spare us the anguish which we have this year suffered. The people suffers, but we do not feel the less; we, who placed as vanguard of the Government, ought to serve as a buckler to the Swedish people, and renounce all repose as long as their wants are not satisfied. It is for you, Gentlemen, to second the King by your efforts. He desires that his reign may be signalized by the beams of a pure and beneficent glory, and we can do nothing better to arrive at this object, than to augment by the progress of agriculture the industry and the population of the country.

May Providence, Gentlemen, bless your efforts, and avert from the bosom of our country the evils which ravage the earth. Far from lowering our courage, let the difficulties which daily arise only inspire us with the noble resolution of conquering them; let the example of your zeal and your cares, by communicating itself to all classes of the citizens, unite as the

fasces of the State, the talents, the patriotism, and the industry of the whole nation. It is then, Gentlemen, that you will have adorned the grey hairs of your King with laurels which shall have cost no tears. My heart will be your debtor for all the good which you do, and the victory which you will obtain over a barren soil will justly gain you a civic crown.

OFFICIAL NOTE ADDRESSED BY THE DUC DE BASSANO TO M. D'OHSSON.

Feb. 13th, 1813.

The undersigned, Minister of Foreign Affairs, having informed his Majesty the Emperor and King of the demand which M. d'Ohsson, Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the King of Sweden, has made for his passports, has received an order from his Majesty to deliver them, and he has the honour to enclose them with the present note.

But as, in addressing this demand verbally to the undersigned, M. d'Ohsson has deemed it

proper to declare that his Court, not having yet obtained explanations relative to the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, thought that the diplomatic relations between the two countries were thenceforth without any object; and as he afterwards complained of three or four hundred men, officers and soldiers, of the Swedish regiments in Pomerania being sent into France, the undersigned has also received orders to return him the following answer.

Sweden, not content with having openly violated during a whole year the conditions of the peace, by the treaty of Paris of the 6th of January, 1810, caused armed French vessels to be attacked and seized in the month of December 1811, on the high seas, and their crews to be cast into prison; she neither offered nor gave any satisfaction for so unexpected and serious an insult.

It was then that Pomerania was occupied. This occupation was almost immediately followed, not only by explanations, but by overtures which could not fail of convincing the Swedish Government, that whilst she took a measure to which her honour had imperiously forced her, France preserved towards Sweden the sentiments which had united them for centuries.

A war, which his Majesty had in no way provoked, but the issue of which might restore to Poland her ancient independence, and insure to the Ottoman Porte the integrity of its possessions, appearing on the point of breaking out, it was giving to the Swedish Government a proof of the dispositions of France, to offer her the means of embracing a cause, which was in reality that of the Swedish nation. He was fully aware of it himself, and authorised the Sieur Signeul to enter into a negotiation for a treaty of subsidy; a negotiation which was only broken off because the Sieur Signeul was commissioned to demand that his Majesty should authorize Sweden in obtaining Norway, and guarantee it to her. The friendship and alliance which unite his Majesty to Denmark being known to all Europe, this demand was an outrage which his Majesty was content to answer by an indignant silence.

These circumstances, which doubtless have not been concealed from the knowledge of the King, sufficiently prove that the reason given by the Swedish Cabinet for the measure which they have just taken is not the true one.

If this step had been determined on in consideration of the losses which the French armies have suffered from the severity of the seasons:

if these losses have given rise to an opinion that France can no longer do any thing for Sweden; that she can no longer strive with advantage against enemies whom she has so often conquered, and that she must be sacrificed to them; his Majesty cannot sufficiently express his astonishment that such an opinion should have been formed by a Prince, who in other times, and when he governed Sweden as Regent, judged so well the issue of the struggle in which France was then engaged against the coalitions which threatened to annihilate her, who appreciated the whole extent of her resources, foresaw her triumphs when Europe was foretelling nothing but disasters, and thereby showed as much penetration as prudence. It would moreover be a very strange policy to take advantage of the success of his own natural enemy to insult an ancient friend, an old and faithful ally, against whom the successes would have been obtained.

Whatever may happen, his Majesty knows that neither individual hatred nor momentary seductions can destroy the relations which the nature itself of things has established between the two nations, the interests which arise from these relations, and the sentiments which originate therein. He will not, therefore, change

his system; he will repel by every means in his power a war which he could only consider as a civil war. Such were his sentiments when the last King of Sweden put himself in a state of hostility against him: he was not the enemy of Sweden, and when that Prince had brought upon himself, by the errors of his policy, the catastrophe which befell him, he pitied his faults and his misfortunes.

His Majesty, therefore, will delay as much as lies in his power, the *éclat* of a rupture. He will not apply this term to the interruption of the diplomatic and commercial relations; he will not believe in the war, unless Sweden declares it, or by executing the projects which are represented as the object of her arming, she attacks by open force the coasts of the Baltic, or the possessions of the King of Denmark, for the defence of which his Majesty is engaged to furnish a force of 40,000 men. Even then his Majesty will only make war for the defence of his allies, to hinder Sweden from injuring them, and not with any view of injuring the Swedish nation, whom he would be grieved to see drawn by violent passions and by an ill-directed ambition into one of the greatest political blunders ever committed.

As to the Swedish officers and soldiers who

were found in Pomerania, it was not by orders of the Government that they were sent into France, but by way of precaution which the generals who commanded in that province thought they ought to take, when, at the end of last year, many partial descents attempted on the Isle of Rugen by Swedish ships of war, and threats of descents ostentatiously announced, caused a fear that the armaments which were being made in Sweden might be destined against Swedish Pomerania. These officers and soldiers will be sent back to Sweden as soon as Sweden shall send back to France the crews of the French vessels seized by the Swedish gun-boats, and who have for more than a year unjustly groaned in chains.

The undersigned, &c.

The Duc de Bassano.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Stockholm, March 23, 1813.

Sire,

As long as your Majesty only acted or caused others to act against me directly, I thought my-

self bound only to oppose you with calmness and silence; but now that the note of the Duc de Bassano to M. d'Ohsson seeks to throw the same torch of discord between the King and myself, which facilitated your Majesty's entry into Spain, all ministerial relations being broken, I address you in person to remind you of the loyal and open conduct of Sweden even in the most difficult times.

To the communications which M. de Signeul was instructed to make by order of your Majesty, the King answered, that Sweden, convinced that it was to you only that she owed the loss of Finland, could never believe in your friendship, unless you gave her Norway as an indemnification for the mischief which your policy had occasioned her.

With regard to all that relates in the Duc de Bassano's note to the invasion of Pomerania, and the conduct of the French privateers, the facts speak for themselves; and by comparing the dates, we may judge, Sire, which of the two was in the right, your Majesty, or the Swedish Government.

A hundred Swedish vessels were captured, and more than 200 sailors put in irons, when the Government found itself under the necessity of ordering the arrest of a privateer, who,

under the French flag, came into our harbours, carried off our ships, and insulted our confidence in the faith of treaties.

The Duc de Bassano declares that your Majesty has not provoked the war; and nevertheless, Sire, your Majesty passed the Niemen at the head of 400,000 men.

From the moment that your Majesty plunged into the centre of that empire, the issue was no longer doubtful. The Emperor Alexander and the King foresaw as early as the month of August the result of the campaign, and its prodigious consequences. All the military combinations rendered it nearly certain that your Majesty would be taken prisoner. You have escaped, Sire, from this danger; but your army, the flower of France, Germany, and Italy, no longer exists. There lie, without burial, the heroes who saved France at Fleurus, who conquered in Italy, who resisted the burning climate of Egypt, and who planted the standard of victory under your command at Marengo, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Halle, at Lubec, and at Friedland.

Let your heart, Sire, be moved at this agonizing picture; and if any thing be yet wanting to prevail on you, let it remember the death of more than a million of Frenchmen, left on the

field of honour, victims of the wars which your Majesty has undertaken.

Your Majesty appeals to your claims on the friendship of the King; permit me, Sire, to remind you of the little value you attached to it at a time when a reciprocity of sentiments would have been of great service to Sweden. When the King, after having lost Finland, wrote to your Majesty, to entreat you to preserve to Sweden the Isles of Aland, you answered him "Apply to the Emperor Alexander, he is great and generous!" and to complete the measure of your indifference, you caused to be inserted in an official journal, at the moment of my departure for Sweden, (Moniteur, Sept. 21, 1810, n. 264,) that there was an interregnum in the kingdom, during which the English were carrying on their trade with impunity.

The King retired from the coalition of 1792, because that coalition proposed to divide France, and because he would not participate in the dismemberment of that fair monarchy. He was actuated in this step—a monument of his political glory, as much by his attachment to the French nation, as from his desire to heal the wounds of the kingdom. This wise and virtuous conduct, founded on the principle

that each nation has the right of governing itself by its own laws, its customs, and its will—this conduct serves as a rule to him at the present moment.

Your system, Sire, aims at depriving nations of the rights which they have received from nature—the rights of mutual commerce, and of mutual assistance, and of intercourse, and of peace; and yet the existence of Sweden depends on the extension of her commercial relations, without which she cannot supply her wants.

Far from observing any change of system in the conduct of the King, the enlightened and impartial will only find in it a continuation of that just and constant policy, which was developed at a time when the Sovereigns of Europe were combining against the liberty of France, and which is pursued by him with energy at a moment when the French Government continues to conspire against the liberty of nations, and of sovereigns.

I know the good dispositions of the Emperor Alexander and of the Court of St. James's for peace; the calamities of the Continent demand it, and your Majesty ought not to refuse it. Possessor of the finest monarchy in the world, would you always be extending its li-

mits, and would you leave to an arm less puissant than your own the sad legacy of interminable wars? Will not your Majesty apply yourself to close the wounds of a revolution, from which there remains nothing to France but the recollections of her military glory, and her present domestic miseries? Sire, the examples of history, the feeling of independence, which may be deadened, but cannot be effaced from the hearts of nations, reject the idea of an universal monarchy. Sire, weigh all these considerations, and for once sincerely embrace the idea of a general peace, of which the outraged name has caused the shedding of so much blood.

I was born in that fair France which you, Sire, govern; its glory and its prosperity can never be indifferent to me. But, though I cease not to offer up vows for its happiness, I will defend with all the powers of my soul, both the rights of the people who have invited me, and the honour of the Sovereign who has deigned to call me his son. In this struggle between the liberty of the world and oppression, I will say to the Swedes, "I fight for you, and with you, and the vows of free nations accompany your efforts!"

In politics, Sire, there can be neither affection nor hatred; there are but the duties which we

have to fulfil towards the people whom Providence has called us to govern. Their laws and their privileges are the treasures which are dear to them; and if, in order to preserve them, a Prince is obliged to renounce ancient ties and family affections, if he wish to do his duty, he cannot hesitate in his choice.

The Duc de Bassano declares that your Majesty will avoid the publicity of a rupture; but, Sire, is it not your Majesty who has interrupted our commercial relations, by ordering the capture of Swedish vessels in the midst of peace? Is it not the rigour of your orders, which for three years has forbidden us all communication with the Continent, and which, within that time, has detained more than fifty Swedish vessels at Rostock, Wismar, and other ports in the Baltic?

The Duc de Bassano adds, that your Majesty will not change your system, and that you will prevent with all your might a war, which you will consider as a civil war; which is to say, that your Majesty intends to retain Swedish Pomerania, and that you do not abandon the hope of commanding Sweden, and of thus disgracing, without running any risk, the Swedish name and character. By the term "civil war," your Majesty means, doubtless, a war be-

tween allies, and any one can guess the lot you destine for them. But let your Majesty recollect the disapprobation you expressed on hearing of the armistice which I granted this brave nation in 1809, and you will then acknowledge the necessity, to which this country has found itself reduced to do every thing which it has done to this present moment, to preserve its independence, and to rescue itself from that danger, into which your policy, Sire, would have dragged it, if it had been less understood.

If the events which have so rapidly succeeded one another for the last four months have thrown on the generals of your Majesty the responsibility of the disarming, and sending into France as prisoners of war, the Swedish troops in Pomerania, so good a pretext will not easily be found, Sire, to justify the refusal which your Majesty has always given to confirm the sentences of the prize courts, and the particular exceptions you have for three years made against Sweden, although those tribunals had pronounced in our favour. For the rest, Sire, no one in Europe can be misled by the blame which your Majesty casts upon your generals.

The note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs

of the King, and the answer which M. Cabre made him on the 4th of January, 1812, will prove to you, Sire, that his Majesty had anticipated your desires, by setting at liberty all the crews of the privateers. The Government since then has gone so far as to release Portuguese, Algerines, and Negroes, taken in the same ship, who called themselves the subjects of your Majesty. Nothing, then, should prevent your Majesty from ordering the release of the Swedish officers and soldiers, and yet they still groan in prison.

As to the menaces which the note of the Duc de Bassano contains, and the 40,000 men whom your Majesty intends to send to Denmark, I think it unnecessary to enter into detail on this subject, the more because I doubt whether the King of Denmark can avail himself of their assistance.

Concerning my personal ambition, it is great, I confess: it is an ambition to serve the cause of humanity, and to insure the independence of the Scandinavian peninsula. To accomplish this, I rely on the justice of the cause which the King has ordered me to defend, on the constancy of the nation, and on the loyalty of our allies.

Whatever may be your determination, Sire,

relative to peace or war, I shall not the less preserve towards your Majesty the sentiments of an ancient brother in arms.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE ARMY OF THE INTERIOR, CARLSKRONA, MAY 28th, 1813.

Soldiers,

The King, when he ordered me to proceed to take the command of his army in Pomerania, directed me also to leave in Sweden two divisions sufficiently numerous to insure the frontiers of the kingdom, and to act on the offensive, if the honour and interest of the country require it. These divisions will be commanded by the Marshals Toll and Essen. Yield to them your confidence; you owe it to their services, their patriotism, and their experience.

In quitting for some time my King, my Son, and you, my companions in arms, it is not to trouble the repose of nations, but to co-operate in the great work of a general peace, which

sovereigns and nations have sighed after for so many years.

Soldiers, A new career of glory and sources of prosperity are opening to our country; treaties founded on sound policy, and aiming at the tranquillity of the North, guarantee the union of the people of Scandinavia. Let us render ourselves worthy of the high destinies which are promised to us, and let the people who extend to us their arms never have reason to repent their confidence.

Soldiers, Our ancestors distinguished themselves by a daring bravery and a steady courage: let us unite to these warlike virtues an enthusiasm for military honour, and God will protect our arms.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE COMBINED ARMY OF THE NORTH OF GERMANY.

Head-Quarters at Oranienbourg, Aug. 13, 1813.

Soldiers,

Called by the confidence of my King, and by that of the Sovereigns of the Allies, to guide

you in the career which is about to be re-opened for you, I rely for the success of our arms on the Divine protection, on the justice of our cause, on your valour, and your constancy.

Were it not for the combination of extraordinary events, which have given to the last twelve years such a terrible celebrity, you would not be assembled on the soil of Germany; but your Sovereigns have felt that Europe is one great family, and that none of the States which compose it can remain indifferent to the evils which a conquering power imposes on one of them. It is also determined, that when one such power threatens to invade and subjugate the whole, there should exist but one wish amongst the people who are resolved to escape from disgrace and slavery.

From that moment you were called from the banks of the Wolga and the shores of the Don, from the coasts of Britain and the mountains of the North, to unite yourselves to the German soldiers who defend the cause of Europe.

It is now that all rivalry, all prejudices and national hatreds, should disappear before the great object of the independence of nations.

The Emperor Napoleon cannot live in peace with Europe, unless Europe is subjected to

him. His temerity has conducted 400,000 brave warriors 700 leagues from their country; calamities against which he did not deign to provide have confounded them, and 300,000 French have perished on the territory of a great empire, whose Sovereign had tried all means to remain at peace with France.

One might have hoped that this great disaster, the effect of the wrath of Heaven, would have brought back the Emperor of France to a system less destructive, and in short, that, instructed by the example of the North and of Spain, he would abandon the idea of subjugating the Continent, and would consent to grant peace to the world: but this hope has been frustrated, and this peace so much desired by all Governments, and which they have all proposed, has been rejected by the Emperor Napoleon.

Soldiers, It is to arms, then, that we must have recourse, to obtain repose and independence by victory. Imitate the French of 1792. The enemy was on their territory; they united to give him battle. Let a similar sentiment now animate and direct your valour against him who, not content with invading the land which gave you birth, enchains also your brothers, your wives, and your children.

Soldiers, What a magnificent prospect pre-

sents itself to you ! The liberty of Europe, the re-establishment of its political balance, the termination of that state of convulsion which has lasted for twenty years, in short, the peace of the whole world, will be the result of your efforts. Render yourselves worthy by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the noble destinies which await you.

THE CROWN PRINCE TO THE MARSHAL THE PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA.

Jüterbock, Sept. 9th. 1813.

On the evening of the 6th, after the battle of Dennewitz, I learnt that one of your aide-de-camps was wounded and made prisoner. I hastened to send one of my own to meet him at Treuenbreitzen, who had the misfortune to find that he had been sent on to Berlin ; but, before his departure, he had addressed to me a letter, which the magistrate of the town delivered to my aide-de-camp, and which you will find enclosed. I have given orders that

Colonel Clouet shall be treated with all the care which his state requires, and with the respect which is due to his rank, and to the person to whom he was attached.

Although the interests which we serve be different, yet I have pleasure in thinking that our sentiments have ever remained the same, and I shall ever seize with the greatest eagerness all opportunities of assuring you that I remain constant in those which you know I ever entertained for you.

For a long time we have been ravaging the earth, and we have yet done nothing for the cause of humanity. The confidence which you so justly enjoy with the Emperor Napoleon, might, it appears to me, be of some weight in determining this Sovereign at length to accept an honourable and general peace which has been offered to him, but which he has rejected. This glory, Prince, is worthy a warrior such as you; and the French nation would rank this eminent service amongst the number of those which we performed twenty years ago, when, under the walls of St. Quentin, we fought for its liberty and for its independence.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE SAXONS.

Head-quarters, Jüterbock, Sept. 15, 1813.

Saxons,

The Combined Army of the North of Germany has passed your frontiers; this army does not make war on the people of your countries, it is only directed against their oppressor.

You ought to offer up vows for our success, since it tends to re-establish your fallen prosperity, and to restore to your Government its lustre and independence. We persist in considering all Saxons as our friends. Your property will be respected, the army will observe the strictest discipline, and their wants will be provided for in the manner which will be the least burdensome to the country. Quit not your hearths, and continue to employ yourselves in your customary occupations.

Great events will shortly put you in safety from all political ambition. Show yourselves the worthy descendants of the ancient Saxons; and if German blood must flow, let it be for the independence of Germany, and not for the will of a single man, to whom no tie, no interest, attaches you. France is a country sufficiently

beautiful and sufficiently extensive, and conquerors of old would have been contented with such a dominion. The French themselves desire to return within the limits which Nature has marked out for them: they loathe the tyranny which they support. Dare to tell them that you have resolved to be free, and the admiration of these very Frenchmen will incite you to persevere in your noble and generous enterprise.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA.

Lubeck, Dec. 7, 1813.

My Dear Oscar,

The people of Lubeck assisted Gustavus the First in restoring liberty to his country; I have just cancelled this debt of the Swedes—Lubeck is free. I had the happiness to gain possession of the city without bloodshed. This advantage is dearer to me than victory in battle, even at an easy rate. How happy are

we, my dear Son, when we can prevent the shedding of tears! how calm and sound is our sleep! If all men could be convinced of this truth, there would no longer be conquerors, and nations would be governed only by just kings. I set off to-morrow for Oldeslohe, and the following day whithersoever events may all me. I do every thing to make them conducive to the good cause and the benefit of my country. The only recompense I desire is, that it may second you, my dear child, in every thing you will one day undertake for its prosperity and welfare.

Your affectionate father,

CHARLES JOHN.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE FRENCH.

Head-quarters at Cologne, Feb. 12, 1814.

Frenchmen,

I have taken up arms by order of my King to defend the rights of the Swedish nation.

After having avenged the affronts which they had received, and contributed to the deliverance of Germany, I have crossed the Rhine.

Once more in sight of the banks of this river, where I have so often and so happily fought for you, I feel a desire to communicate to you my thoughts.

It has been the constant effort of your Government to debase every thing that it might despise every thing; it is time that this system should change.

All enlightened men desire the preservation of France; they only require that she shall be no longer the scourge of the earth.

The Allied Sovereigns have not coalesced to make war against nations, but to force your Government to recognize the independence of states: such are their intentions, and I pledge myself to you for their sincerity. The adopted son of Charles XIII. placed by the election of a free people in the succession to the throne of the great race of Gustavus, I can no longer have any other ambition than that of labouring for the prosperity of the Scandinavian Peninsula. O that in fulfilling this sacred duty towards my new country, I could contribute at the same time to the happiness of my ancient countrymen!

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE SWEDISH ARMY.

Lubeck, May 21, 1814.

Soldiers,

A conqueror, as formidable in his views as in his means of carrying those views into effect, threatened to invade Europe, and made Germany groan under the weight of his power. Sweden conceived the noble design of co-operating in the enfranchisement of the nations of Germany; but before she sent her defenders on a foreign land, it was necessary that she should secure herself against a neighbouring country, subjected to the influence of the common enemy. By preventing the establishment of a northern confederation, your King had in truth preserved the country from the calamity of becoming the province of another empire; but he could not ensure its liberty without giving the Norwegians as friends to the Swedish nation. Solemn treaties were concluded; they guarantee the union of Norway with Sweden, and the King of Denmark, by his cession in the treaty of Kiel of his rights over that country, has given to these treaties a sacred and inviolable character.

Soldiers, The yoke is broken, Germany is free, and you have contributed to its deliverance. A Prince, to whom the welfare of the Norwegians has been committed, is resolved to sacrifice their happiness. By pursuing the policy, in opposition to which the Allies took up arms, he refuses, in spite of the desire of the nation, to execute a treaty which, independently of the other advantages granted to Denmark, has given up the Duchies of Schleswic and Holstein, which it should be the ambition of this Prince one day to govern. If he persist in turning a deaf ear to the voice of duty and reason, if we are reduced to the unfortunate necessity of establishing by force of arms the validity of treaties and the rights of Sweden, recollect, Soldiers, that it is not on the Norwegian nation that we make war, it is the instigators, who lead them astray, whom we must punish, and the armed power which domineers over them that we must fight against. Treat with tenderness your blinded brethren, who, reclaimed from their error, will find that the Swedish Government, in desiring the union of the two countries, has had no other view than to insure the tranquillity of the North, and to render the Norwegians free and independent.

Soldiers, Full of the same confidence with

which I led you to the shores we are now about to quit, I will conduct you to fulfil the glorious duties to which the interests of your country call you.

You will fulfil those duties, because you are Swedes; and God will bless our cause, because it is just.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE ARMY.

Head-quarters at Wennersborg, July 17, 1814.

Soldiers,

It is six months since you were masters of the Duchies of Schleswic and of Holstein; the fort of Fredericsort had capitulated, and the fortress of Gluckstadt, which the victorious arms of the generals of the great Gustavus had been unable to reduce, had fallen into our hands. Your operations in Funen and in the Northern part of Jutland would have been for you but one triumphal march. The Danish

Government invoked our respect for the blood of mankind, and this appeal on its part arrested our progress. The treaty of Kiel intervened; and the evacuation of the Danish territory was the immediate consequence of this treaty, which acquired for the Crown of Sweden the union with Norway.

Soldiers, It was on the faith of those promises that I led you to the banks of the Rhine, and it was in the hopes of freeing Scandinavia that you passed the Baltic to contribute to the deliverance of Germany. Now that the heir to the throne of Denmark regards the sanctity of the treaty of Kiel as an idle word; and now that, by following his original instructions, he withstands the conditions of peace; it is no longer to negotiations that we must have recourse, it is to God and our arms that we must appeal. Our King, so good a judge in deeds of glory and valour, is in the midst of us; he will follow us with his eyes and his thoughts; let us justify his hopes by our courage in supporting privations, and by the perseverance which will insure us success. Let us exert all our efforts to bring back our misled brethren to an understanding of their happiness and their duty, and let this second crown, which is about to encircle the brow of our venerable

monarch, be from henceforth only an additional guarantee of his love for his children.

Soldiers, I repeat to you, that there will be no repose for us, until the Scandinavian Peninsula is united and free.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE NORWEGIANS.

Head-quarters at Wennersborg, July 17, 1814.

Norwegians,

Destined by Nature to be united with the Swedish nation, your destiny was accomplished when the King of Denmark ceded to Sweden, by the peace of Kiel, his rights over Norway. He obtained, immediately after his signing of the treaty, the evacuation of the Duchies of Schleswic and Holstein, the surrender of the fortresses of Gluckstadt and Fredericsort, the recognition of the Sound dues, the abandonment of more than 12,000,000 of contributions imposed on the Duchies, the renunciation of a like sum due to the Swedish Government

for captures made by Danish vessels during the peace, a considerable sum in money, part of which has been paid; and lastly, the promise of Swedish Pomerania, to be ceded immediately after the surrender and occupation by the Swedish troops of the fortresses of Kongsvinger, Fredericshall, Fredericstadt, and Aggershus.

These great sacrifices were only made to Denmark in consideration of a promise that you should recognize peaceably and without opposition the authority of the King of Sweden; and you will appreciate them when you read the treaties which had united Sweden, Russia, England, Prussia, and Austria, against the common enemy. If in this age these treaties could be eluded by civilized nations, good faith would no longer exist on the earth.

At the period when your Government furnished France with many thousand sailors to equip their ships of war, Sweden acknowledged the indispensable necessity of rendering herself independent of the Continent. She refused to humble herself before the idol of the day; and relying with confidence on herself and her constitutional laws, she dared to invoke them in favour of her sons, and rejected the demand of a like number of sailors. She did more; she united herself at the most critical period, which

our annals record, to a monarch whose ruin Napoleon had resolved on. She is now proud of having preceded so many nations in the manifestation of her opinion.

Norwegians, The smaller states are always the puppets of the more powerful ones. You cannot form an independent government; and the idea of the man who misleads you is to re-unite at some future day the crown of Norway to that of Denmark. But Nature, in accordance with sound policy, has determined that the Norwegians and the Swedes should be friends and brothers: it is also as brothers that the Swedes wish to live with you. Uniting and affording one another mutual support, Sweden and Norway will present on every side an impregnable barrier. Isolated and separate, they will have every thing to fear both from themselves and from others. Look at England: that celebrated isle founded her prosperity on a similar union; that of Norway and Sweden is guaranteed by the first-rate powers of Europe.

An experience of many centuries proves that the divisions of the North have always entailed its ruin. This idea struck the great Gustavus. After having previously arranged the peace of Europe, and established the freedom of religion,

his plan was to unite you to Sweden. Death frustrated the attempt; the consequences for you have been fatal.

Norwegians, After the memorable battle of Leipsic, your interests should have told you that your union with Sweden could alone constitute your happiness and establish your security. The great Powers desire this union; all have agreed that it was time to put an end to the dissensions which resulted from the separation of the two nations. Will you alone oppose yourselves to the general wish? Will you fight single-handed against the Swedes, and the Sovereigns who have guaranteed your union with us? Their glory, their interests, and the sanctity of treaties, demand that it should be carried into effect.

I arrive among you with the hope that you will treat as brothers this brave army of soldiers, whom I bring back from a campaign as glorious as it has been astonishing. Neither this army, nor that which a year since was stationed on your frontiers, desire laurels which must be stained with your blood. The Swedes are, like yourselves, members of the Scandinavian family; and battles fought between the two nations are equally repugnant to nature, to reason, and to sound policy.

Norwegians, Suffer not yourselves to be inflamed by the instigations of individuals who have only in view their personal interests; sacrifice not the welfare of your country to the deceitful illusions which they present to you; open your eyes to the dangers into which a criminal ambition precipitates you. Sweden will not lay down her arms before she has accomplished an union necessary for her security and repose. You have it in your power to prevent the evils of a war, which can only be advantageous to your seducers. Direct your minds to the prospect which awaits you, and to the glory and prosperity which must result from the union of the two nations.

Norwegians, reject, therefore, an influence and errors equally unworthy of you! Let the wish of the nation express itself! Let this wish fix its laws under the protection of an enlightened and beneficent monarch! He offers you, with the entire removal of all war, independence, liberty, and the enjoyment of all your privileges. Your loyalty will be the pledge, while his virtues are the guarantees.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE STORTHING AT CHRISTIANIA.

Fredericshall, Nov. 7, 1814.

Gentlemen,

It was with regret that the Swedes fought against you; the war was without a purpose from the moment when your chief offered to resign the power into the hands of the nation.

The King does not desire to take advantage of his rights. Firm in the path which he has marked out for himself, more happy to reign over a free nation than over a people subjected by force of arms, he has allowed you time to discuss the grand principles which constitute the liberty and the independence of States. I have been informed of the spirit which directs the meeting. If there have been some errors in principles, I have had the satisfaction of discovering perfect good faith. Let us thank Providence for having pointed out to us the rule of our duties, and let us reflect that we have the same interests to defend, the same dangers to run, the same glory, and the same prosperity to hope for.

I comply willingly with your desires, and shall set out to-morrow with my Son for Christiania.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE ARMY.

Head-Quarters at Fredericshall, Nov. 8, 1814.

Soldiers,

For a long time your first wish, as well as that of all your countrymen, has been the union of the people of Scandinavia. It was to attain this great end that we took up arms. Providence has crowned our efforts, our hopes have been fulfilled: henceforth the Swedes and the Norwegians have the same interests to defend, the same glory to sustain, and the same results will be for them the reward of the same virtues. Soldiers, One of the happiest moments of my life is arrived; that in which, in the name of the King and the country, I have to express to you their gratitude for the bravery, the discipline, and the excellent conduct by

which, while you showed yourselves worthy of your ancestors, you have rendered the Swedish name alike loved and respected. Return to your hearths! Bear in the exercise of the duties of peaceable citizens the same love for your country, the same obedience to the laws, which have distinguished you as warriors; and the protection of your King, and the esteem of your fellow-citizens shall be your well-earned re compense.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE IN THE STORTHING, NOV. 10, 1814.

Gentlemen,

The King has seen the vows accomplished, which he has unceasingly offered for the happiness and the independence of the Scandinavian peninsula; the two people have forsworn their long and unfortunate enmities, and henceforth they will know of no rivalry but in their love for their common country. By contributing to this great end, you have acquired, Gen-

tlemen, sacred titles to the favour of his Majesty, and the gratitude of your fellow-citizens.

It was reserved to the King to see two free nations offer him the crown by their spontaneous and unanimous wishes. He did not enforce with the Swedes the rights of his birth; and in like manner, he hath preferred to the titles, which he acquired by the most solemn treaties, those more tender and dearer ones which he has obtained from your affection. The King has always desired, that being equal in their rights, the Norwegians and the Swedes might enjoy the same constitutional advantages; and the new fundamental law, which you have just adopted in concert with the King, will serve at the same time as a guarantee to your liberty, and as a proof to Europe of the liberal views and the moderation of your Sovereign.

You will requite, Gentlemen, the just confidence which he has reposed in you; you will guide this loyal people; and after having zealously fulfilled your functions as legislators, you will contribute, by your enlightened feelings, and your personal exertions, to make them love the Government which you have given them.

To do this, it is essential to enlighten the nation on its situation and its hopes. They must not attribute to the new authority evils which did not originate with it; the people must be informed in what condition the King has found your finances and your administration, in order that they may judge impartially of the improvements which must naturally follow his Government. You will receive, Gentlemen, a proposition on the preparatory measure which will be necessary in this respect.

The union between Sweden and Norway is founded on our geographical situation, on the national character of the two people, on their reciprocal interests, and on the wisdom which has presided in their deliberations, and I will add, on the love they both entertain for individual liberty, for the rights of property, and the representative Government. Thus shall we ever remain two nations united and independent. Satisfied with the boundaries which Nature has prescribed to us; penetrated with the great truth, that beyond these limits there can exist no real good for us, our policy will be to abstain from provoking war, and to maintain religiously the good harmony which exists between us and all other Powers. Since Providence has made our happiness and our duty the

same, I am not afraid of entering, in the face of the Universe, into the solemn engagement, that no foreign dominion shall violate your soil or attack your rights.

Gentlemen, The King has accepted the Constitution, such as it was agreed on between you and the Commissioners of his Majesty. He reserves for himself to present for the sanction of the States-General of Sweden those articles which will cause any change or modification in the Swedish Constitution.

I now, Gentlemen, present to you, in the name of the King, his oath to govern the kingdom of Norway according to its constitution and its laws, and I invite you to take your oath of allegiance to his Majesty.

The contract, then, which he has entered into with the Norwegian people, is about to be definitively completed. May Providence, who watches over the destinies of empires, bless that solemn moment which opens to the two nations of the Scandinavian Peninsula a new career of glory and of prosperity. I will second the paternal efforts of the King for the welfare of the Norwegians, and I will transmit to my Son the sentiments of love and affection which I bear them. In the midst of the tumult of arms, and when I was marching

with the Allies of Sweden on the fields of Germany, to oppose a tyranny the most frightful that ever pressed upon Europe, I looked forward to the present moment as the reward of my labours; and the palm of peace which I receive this day from the hands of a free people, is more satisfactory to my heart than all the laurels of victory.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of my sentiments; they are as sincere as they are deeply graven in my heart.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY AT THE CLOSE OF THE STORTHING, CHRISTIANIA, NOV. 26, 1814.

Gentlemen,

You have seen the paternal intentions of the King manifested by his sanction of the constitutional law, which ensures the liberty of the Norwegian people. If, in changing suddenly from an arbitrary government to one founded on law, fears and apprehensions have been

occasionally mixed with the desires which you expressed, they must be attributed to the remembrance of a time and circumstances which no longer exist. You were animated by a zeal for defending the rights of the people; the King, guided as much by his own feelings as by the free Constitution of Sweden, resolved to recognize them. The people, who have followed with an attentive eye your deliberations, will see in their progress and their result the King's religious adherence to his promises, and his respect for the national liberty; and they will acknowledge that the wisdom of his Majesty has saved you from the two evils of anarchy and despotism.

Contented with the successive advancements of our commerce and our agriculture, we shall desire no other than that of occupying in history the place of a happy people.

But whilst peace is our only aim, we must not forget that the surest method of maintaining it rests on our own courage. The duty of defending his country guides the warrior in his career of glory, and entitles him to the esteem of his fellow-citizens, which is the highest recompense for the dangers which the soldier braves.

The King, accustomed to reign over a free

people, has recognized with the most lively satisfaction the rights which the Constitution grants to the honourable body of labourers, whose toils supply the cities, whilst their arms defend their country.

Gentlemen, The extraordinary Storthing having concluded its deliberations, I declare, in the name of the King, and by virtue of the power with which the act of the Constitution has invested his Majesty, that the session is finished. On returning to your peaceable abodes, each of you strong in his conscience, and happy to have insured the independence of his country and the liberty of his fellow-citizens, should bear in mind, that the strength of the State depends on order and concord, and ought to be cemented by a general obedience to Law. The first duty of a monarch is to enforce a religious respect for this mistress of kings and nations. Never have the inhabitants of the North conferred the title of Good on a Prince without energy. Show yourselves worthy descendants of your estimable fathers; propose, like them, the good of your country, as the aim of all your actions; like them, hand down to your children the doctrine, that the strict execution of their duties is the surest guarantee of their rights. Return to the occu-

pations which you have quitted to answer the public confidence. The fear of God is the only fear which free men should know. May it accompany you in your labours, and guide your actions! Then will happiness fix her dwelling among you, and the liberty of Scandinavia will be as immoveable as her mountains.

May God protect the King and his two kingdoms, and may he have you all, Gentlemen, in his holy and worthy keeping!

END OF PART THE FIRST.

PART II.

PART II.

FROM THE GENERAL PEACE 1814, TO THE CLOSE OF THE LAST DIET.

The campaign of the Allied Army, of which the Crown-Prince was Commander-in-Chief, is faithfully and spiritedly described in the bulletins issued from the head-quarters of the Combined Army of the North of Germany. These bulletins, thirty-one in number, extend from the 13th of August, 1813, three days after the denouncement of the armistice of Pleiswitz, to the 12th of February, 1814, when the Crown-Prince arrived with his army on the banks of the Rhine.

The operations recorded in them may be divided into two periods: the first from the com-

mencement of hostilities to the famous battles of Leipsic, fought on the 18th and 19th of October, during which time the army, under the command of the Crown-Prince, was acting in concert with the other armies of the Allies, namely, the Silesian, the grand Russian, and the Austrian; and the second period, from the date of that eventful combat to the 12th of February, during which time the Combined Army of the North was acting independently of the other Allied troops, and was employed in reducing the countries lying to the east and the north of the Rhine and the Mayne, on the Weser and the Elbe, and in the winter campaign in Holstein and Schleswic.

At the commencement of the operations, the Combined Army of the North of Germany occupied positions in a line extending from Müncheberg to Brandenbourg, between the Oder and the Elbe, a little in the rear of Berlin. It consisted of Prussians, under Tauentzien and Bulow, who formed the reserve and left wing; of Swedes, under Count de Stedingk, in the centre; and of the Russians, under Winzingerode, whose head-quarters were at Brandenbourg, and who communicated with a Prussian corps under General Hirschfeld before Magde-

bourg, and farther still with the Army of Observation on the Lower Elbe, under General Count de Wallmoden. Detached corps belonging to the army of Count de Tauentzien blockaded Stettin and Custrin.

This army, after the termination of the armistice, commenced an advance, concentric with the other Allied armies, which were marching from the north and the east, first against Dresden, and afterwards on Leipsic. In the period anterior to the battle of Leipsic, two attempts were made by the French in force to impede its advance, and drive it back on Berlin, but they were repulsed each time, and two great battles were fought and won by this army. That of GROSS-BEEREN, on the 24th of August, against a French army of ninety thousand men, consisting of the *corps d'armée* of the Dukes of Reggio, of Belluno, and of Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, who were pushing on to Berlin; and the battle of DENNEWITZ, fought on the 6th of September, against the *corps d'armée* of the Duke of Reggio and the Duke of Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, the whole united under the command of the Prince of the Moskwa, in a second but fruitless attempt to surprise the

Prussian capital. After this latter victory, the Combined Army met with little opposition in their march on the Elbe. On the 4th of October, a junction was effected with the army of Silesia, under Marshal Blucher, near Rosslau. The bulletin, No. 21, of the 21st of October, gives an account of the share which the army of the North of Germany and the army of Silesia took in the sanguinary battles of the 18th and 19th of October, before Leipsic. It accurately describes all the movements, and the various positions successively occupied by the armies as they advanced to their hardly-earned victory. The bulletin concludes thus: "It is inconceivable how a man who has commanded in thirty pitched battles, and has raised himself on his military renown, *by appropriating to himself that of all the old French generals*, could concentrate his army in so unfavourable a position as the one which he chose for it. The Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, marshy lands to pass over, and only one bridge to secure the retreat of his army and baggage. We ask ourselves, whether this is the great captain, who has till now made Europe tremble?" Truly a fatality appeared to attend the fortunes of Napoleon in that awful battle; but there are insinuations in this last quoted passage, which,

although, perhaps, calculated to animate the soldiers of the Allied armies, and although in a style very common in the bulletins and manifestoes of that period, might, we think, have been spared. Of the other French Generals, these bulletins speak with an honesty and candour which greatly adorn the noble rivalry in the race for glory. Witness the character of the Prince of the Moskwa, in the twelfth bulletin, issued after the battle of Dennewitz. "If the Prince of the Moskwa be dead, the Emperor Napoleon will have lost one of his best generals. Long accustomed to war on a large scale, he had given proofs on all occasions of rare intrepidity and of consummate talent. In the last campaign of Russia, it was he who preserved the wreck of the French army. That army and all France have borne this honourable testimony in his favour." Ney was, indeed, "the bravest of the brave," but we must not forget to consider the above eulogium in the light of a funeral oration.

After the battle of Leipsic, the Army of Germany pursued the French, and even preceded them on the road between Leipsic and Frankfort, and harassed them on the right as far as Mühlhausen. Thence leaving General Czernicheff with a flying corps to accompany the

French army to the Rhine, the Prince Royal marched northward, and joining the corps of Wallmoden, on the Elbe, he commenced an active campaign against the French and Danish troops posted in those parts. It was neither long nor severe. The Prince of Eckmuhl was forced to retire from the line of the Stecknitz to Hamburgh, the Swedes and Russians entered Holstein and Schleswic, and the King of Denmark at length signed the peace dictated at Kiel, on the 14th of January, 1814.

While these corps of the Army of the North of Germany were thus employed, Count de Tauentzien, and General Benningsen, were left to watch the movements of the French garrisons left behind in Dresden, Torgau, Wittemberg, and Magdeburg. The remainder occupied the country, and reduced most of the fortresses east of the Rhine, thus clearing the way in the rear of the other Allied armies, while they pushed their successes into the very heart of France.

Some of the preceding papers have reference to particular incidents of this celebrated campaign. The proclamations of the Crown-Prince to the Swedes, the Saxons, the French, and the Norwegians, and his speeches in the Storthing, demonstrate the spirit by which he was ani-

mated, and the objects which he wished to accomplish. But for a general and comprehensive view of this great struggle, we must have recourse to an animated speech of his Royal Highness, delivered in the Academy of Agriculture after his return, and which will appropriately introduce our Second Part.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE, JAN. 28. 1815.

Gentlemen,

After a lapse of two years, memorable in the annals of Sweden, it is with a sweet satisfaction that I again find myself among you. When my duties kept me at a distance from you, my thoughts and my wishes followed all your labours.

You recollect, Gentlemen, what was the situation of Europe at the period of the institution of this Academy. Preserved by its geographical position from the immediate effects of the general crisis, Sweden had, nevertheless, every thing to fear from its fatal results. If

success had crowned the gigantic efforts of that extraordinary man, to whom such great talents and such enormous power seemed only granted to serve as an example to conquerors, the Continent would have been enslaved, and Sweden would have had no other resource than to sully by a shameful submission the glory of so many centuries. The gratitude of the nation has paid its homage to the measures which were taken on that occasion by the Government; every thing contributed to determine the King in forming an alliance, the advantageous fruits of which the North has reaped, while an impartial posterity will one day appreciate its happy influence on the destinies of Europe. Here gratitude obliges me to pay a tribute to the Emperor Alexander. Never had Sweden a more faithful ally, or one more scrupulous in performing his promises. Truth pierces through the gloom of ages, but it is a delightful task for me to anticipate the homage of posterity by that of friendship and of justice.

The world felt their hopes revive, when they saw the issue of the formidable expedition directed against the power and the crown of the Sovereign of Russia. Prussia broke the chains of her dependence, patriotism and love for their King changed her peaceable citizens into war-

riors, and their numerous battalions joined the Muscovite armies.

Napoleon had suffered great losses, but he was still formidable. Absolute master of the richest country in the world, with her immense resources at his disposal, supported by powerful alliances, replacing his losses by new armies, in whom valour and the hope of conquest supplied the place of practice and experience, and lastly, strong in the opinion he had gained by so many victories, of which his recent misfortunes had not yet destroyed the impression—Napoleon still menaced the liberty of the Continent. The cause of nations and governments demanded our assistance. How powerful were the reasons for taking part in that struggle which was to decide between oppression and liberty! The glorious example of the great Gustavus, whose phalanxes had battled in the plains of Germany for liberty of conscience, humanity to avenge, chains to burst asunder, and lastly, the prospect of a close union with a neighbouring people!

A Swedish army crossed the Baltic; the King had entrusted me with the command. They saw us depart with apprehension, but not without hope. If the former could be justified by the recollections of the past, the second

was founded on the indispensable necessity of reviving in all its glory the splendour of the Swedish name, by associating it anew with the memory of the Charles's and the Gustavi. Constant in my love of that liberty which is alike earned and warranted by respect for the laws, I went forth to fight for it anew; I went far from my adopted country, to defend her rights on the Germanic soil, already invaded and drenched with the blood of her intrepid defenders. But I had moreover another end, a far different motive: when I foresaw all the difficulties which we should have to overcome, and all the different interests we should have to conciliate, I looked forward as a recompense for my labours to the day, when a free people, uniting its destinies with those of Sweden, should regard that union as the pledge of its independence, and the source of its future welfare. My hopes have been borne out by the generous efforts of the nation; all had their children in the army, all offered up prayers that fortune might crown the undertaking of a nation, once so celebrated—once so revered.

You have followed with interest, Gentlemen, the events of the year 1813. You saw with unavoidable alarm Napoleon, at the beginning of the campaign, master of a great part of the

Prussian monarchy, and his armies only a day's march from Berlin. This capital, ennobled by the talents, by the genius, and by so many monuments of the reign of the Great Frederic, was in danger of falling into the power of the enemy. A single manœuvre saved it; that manœuvre was a victory. The charm had disappeared, and the Allied armies marched on from success to success. You are acquainted, Gentlemen, with the astonishing results of this campaign. The bloody dream of an universal monarchy faded away—let us hope, for ever—and the dawn of liberty blazed anew over Europe. A peculiar happiness was reserved for Sweden: their country saw almost all her children return to her bosom who had gone forth to defend her cause on a foreign land: they have returned, esteemed by their enemies, followed by the good wishes of the inhabitants of all the countries whither war had led their march; in short, worthy of the favour of their King and the affection of their fellow-citizens. The foremost wish of that good King, of myself, and of all the Swedes, has been accomplished. The manes of the hero who sealed by his blood this desire of his exalted soul, the union of Sweden with Norway, are appeased. It has become a most worthy monument, raised to the memory

of three great Kings, who in all their actions aimed at that event which Providence had reserved for our times.

The British nation, which has always taken so lively an interest in the liberty of other people, this generous nation will enjoy with admiration the rare sight of an union, founded on the principles which she recognizes as the basis of her independence and her strength.

This great event, and happy one for all the inhabitants of Scandinavia, ought, Gentlemen, to appear especially so to you. It will inflame your zeal, it will elevate your ideas: yours is the honourable office of perfecting by your researches and by your information, the first art of mankind—agriculture; that estimable art, the necessity and the elements of which are taught by Nature herself. It is this primitive connexion between the earth and mankind which constitutes the power of political bodies. A country which neglects agriculture seldom enjoys good laws; their institutions can never bear the stamp of grandeur, and still less that of liberal ideas. All nations, whose prosperity has been lasting, have owed that flourishing state to their attention to agriculture. Look at ancient Egypt; never was there a country where the sources of happiness and civilization

were better known, because there never was a people which carried to such a pitch its activity and skill in the cultivation of the earth. Among the Romans, how great was their veneration for agriculture! Their first standards bore the emblems of this admirable art: in the most glorious times of Rome, the greatest men occupied themselves with agriculture. Cincinnatus and Atilius were employed in tilling their fields when their citizens came to offer them the command of their armies. In China, is not agriculture the source of that prosperity, and above all, of that enormous population which astonishes us? The Sovereign there honours the plough by deigning to guide it himself.

This, then, is an incontestable truth: agriculture is the firmest prop of states, and it should be the constant object of the encouragement and of the solicitude of a wise and paternal government. Such a government will always find among its labourers simplicity of manners, strength of body, a love of their country, a readiness and a power to defend it.

Scandinavia, by its position, by the nature of its soil, and above all, by the character of its inhabitants, is destined to enjoy that happiness which I have just sketched out to you. This

country, having nothing to desire, and still less to fear, will henceforth be only influenced by the genius and the patriotism of its people. All good men, in whatever class they may be found, all those persons who rejoice in the happiness of their fellow-creatures, will combine to increase its commerce and its industry.

Gentlemen, enrich agriculture with your own useful discoveries; introduce on the Scandinavian soil the discoveries of other nations, and you will have a right to say—We consecrate our labours to the welfare of two nations, we teach them to value the treasures of the earth, of that fostering mother so beneficent towards her children when they appreciate her inexhaustible bounty; their happiness and their blessings will reward us for our toils. Yes, Gentlemen, you will not be deceived in this hope; your fellow countrymen will appreciate your efforts, their gratitude will recompense your labours, and their regrets will honour your memory.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE ON THE OPENING OF THE DIET, MARCH 4, 1815.

Deputies of the Nobility,

I receive with a sweet satisfaction the expression of your sentiments. From the moment when the wish of the nation called me to the succession to the throne, my only thought was to see the ancient country of heroes resume among independent states the glorious rank which had ennobled it for so many centuries. When we parted at Örebro, war was committing her ravages from the Tagus to the Dwina; we were pressed by our neighbours, and our merchant ships required all the support of our naval forces to be able to navigate the seas, which Sweden has in common with the other powers of the Baltic. Now, our flag floats in either hemisphere: we have thrown off the yoke which a renowned conqueror wished to impose on us: we have remained ourselves—that is, free and Swedes.

The nobility has acquired, during the memorable period which has just passed, new claims on the esteem and the affection of the King.

The defence of the national honour has been for them the first as well as the dearest of their duties. The King applied with confidence to the first order in the State, and the assistance which he has received from them is a pledge of what he may expect in circumstances of difficulty.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, with pleasure, the assurance of the sentiments inspired in me by the services which your order has rendered to the country.

Members of the Clergy,

At the time of the close of the Diet of Örebro, the country was in great danger, and the future existence of Scandinavia was a problem. This problem is now solved: Heaven has granted your prayers: God has not willed that this country should be the victim of ancient prejudices stimulated by the vast projects of a conqueror. The country is free; protected by the shield of the Almighty, she reposes with security on her laws and her strength.

Called by the King to deliberate on all that relates to the interior administration of the kingdom, your order will introduce in its discussions the calmness which always accompanies superior knowledge, and by rendering to

the common cause the tribute of information acquired by meditation and labour, you will add to the claims which you already possess on the protection and benevolent care of your Sovereign.

In renewing to you the expression of my sentiments for your order, I recommend to your prayers my King, my Country, and my Son.

Members of the Order of Citizens,

It is with much pleasure that I have just heard the testimony of your attachment to me and my Son, and I thank you for it.

Called by the King to deliberate with him on the interior administration of the State, it is under the most happy auspices that you are assembled round the throne. Those threatening clouds are dispersed which darkened the horizon of the country: that Providence, which always watches over the destinies of Sweden, has realized our fondest hopes, and to be happy and to be powerful, we need now only desire it. The favourable circumstances in which we are situated, and which have been created by the wisdom of our Monarch, open a vast field to commercial enterprizes, to the arts, and to national industry. New advantages will reward your activity. By performing the duties with

which public confidence charges you, you will increase your rights to the esteeem of your fellow-citizens, and I shall thus find myself personally happy in being able to do justice to the patriotism which animates you, and which must necessarily have an equally great influence on public prosperity.

It is grateful to me, Gentlemen, to renew to you the expression of all my sentiments.

Good and honourable Peasants!

It is with a very lively satisfaction that I again see you to-day. When, at the close of the last Diet, I took my leave of you, I told you that the King and the country reckoned on the devotion which, from time immemorial, distinguished your order. At that period, the greater part of the States of Europe were marching under the banners of a conqueror, and our existence was menaced. We went to the succour of Germany, and the cause of nations triumphed. I promised you, that in leading your sons to the combat, I would be their protector and their father. Returned to the roof which gave them birth, they must have told you that I fulfilled my promise. They now enjoy the sweets of peace; but if any enemy, jealous of our repose, were to wish to

attack our independence, he will find these same men again in arms who have fought for liberty and for their country.

Continue, good Peasants, to exercise the virtues which were transmitted to you as an heirloom by your fathers, and Heaven will bless your labours.

The King has called you to deliberate with him on the administration of the kingdom; you know the regard of his Majesty and myself for your order, it is founded on your patriotism, and on the other virtues which distinguish you.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE ADDRESS OF THANKS OF THE STATES GENERAL, MARCH 13, 1815.

Gentlemen,

I receive with the most lively satisfaction the expression of your sentiments. The gratitude which you have expressed in relation to the system of the King, gives me the greatest pleasure, inasmuch as the confidence with which

his Majesty honours me, has permitted me to contribute to the measures adopted by the Government. I have ever been sensible of the approbation with which the Swedish people has rewarded my labours. As I have undertaken nothing but for their interest and their happiness, their suffrages and their blessings are my sweetest recompense.

Called by the unanimous choice of the nation, I arrived among you with the firm resolution of investing the Swedish name with that splendour, which for centuries had rendered it the object of the admiration of Europe: I felt, if I may use the expression, a new life; I swore to consecrate it to the service of the Country which had adopted me. I found a generous and loyal people; a hundred years of misfortunes had destroyed their hopes, and abated their ardour, without, however, extinguishing either their courage or their original energy. When I called this people to arms, it was not personal glory that I had in view. Content with that which I had had the good fortune to obtain, my only ambition was to enable the nation, which had voluntarily called me to the succession of the throne, to enjoy the sweets of peace. I owed them every thing; they were every thing to me. But besides this, I was well ac-

quainted with the Swedish character; I knew that they would have no peace that was bought at the expense of their honour and their liberty; and yet this very liberty, this first want of man would have been lost, had we lulled ourselves in a false security. A celebrated conqueror, whose name will always recall exalted recollections, even despite of his faults and his misfortunes, threatened to usurp Europe. Fifteen years of continual successes seemed to insure him a succession of them. No treaty of alliance or of neutrality would have guaranteed our independence for the future. Napoleon would not suffer any Power to refuse to bend under his yoke. Apparently ambitious of taking Charlemagne for his model, he did not profit by his example. Charlemagne, after having in vain solicited the alliance of the North in his expeditions against Germany, dared to menace the Scandinavian people. He had the sorrow of being convinced, before his death, how ill he had appreciated their character. Napoleon wished to force us to draw his triumphal chariot: the world has seen what in his case have been the consequences of a like aggression.

I have no need, Gentlemen, to remind you of the great events which have been the consequence of the King's magnanimous resolution,

which you so nobly seconded. At the moment when that resolution was taken, there was not a part in the whole Spanish peninsula, except Cadiz and the Lines of Torres-Vedras, which resisted the conqueror. From the Tagus to the Niemen all obeyed his will; in a word, the Continent was enslaved or menaced. Your neighbours, the most abject allies of the conqueror, projected the dismemberment of Sweden. But Providence has laughed their projects to scorn, and Sweden has resumed her ancient rank in the political system of Europe. Seconded by faithful Allies, we have procured for ourselves a solid and glorious peace: we have insured our independence; in fine, we have consolidated our political existence by the union with a nation whom nature, customs, religion, and language, should have ever rendered the friends of Sweden, and which, in truth, they would have been, had it not been for a foreign influence. But the times are changed; the illusion is destroyed. The Norwegians and the Swedes, enlightened by the principles of a sound policy, will be no longer rivals, save for the good and the glory of their common country. Strong in this union, we no longer desire any thing but to live free and independent in the midst of our forests and our mountains. Surrounded

by the seas of the North and the Baltic, we possess in the interior of our country all the elements of a free and happy existence. We have no occasion to presume that any Government, jealous of this happiness, will seek to disturb it; but if such did exist, let them know, that if the annals of this country speak of the insults which others have sometimes dared to throw upon it, they speak also of the vengeance which it has taken for them.

The indignation which you have felt, Gentlemen, in reading the attacks made against your liberty and your independence, would add, were it possible, to the profound esteem I bear for you, and to the entire devotion which I bear towards the Nation. Strong in the rights which you have given me, happy in having ascertained the extent of them, and still more happy in having fulfilled my duty towards my country, I will await with tranquillity those who would dispute with us such legitimate titles; I will await them until their madness has blinded those men so far as to make them believe, that nations have lost all their right of election; and then unfolding all the energy of my soul, and all the courage with which Heaven has endowed me, I will employ them in defending your rights as well as my own.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE ON THE CLOSE OF THE DIET AUGUST 15, 1815.

Deputies of the Nobility,

The important deliberations for which the King called you around him are terminated. The ancient edifice of the kingdom, often shaken, sometimes threatened with total ruin, has always been supported by a protecting Providence: never did the head of the State assemble the nation under such happy auspices; never has he been able to communicate events so favourable as those which the King has this year been enabled to report to the members of the Swedish Diet. A kingdom united with Sweden, our public debt liquidated, the taxes diminished, and peace with all the Powers: such, Gentlemen, are the advantages with which, by the aid of the Almighty, the paternal solicitude of the King can bless the Swedish nation. Sweden has manifested its gratitude; the King knows it, and he knows also, Gentlemen, how the nobility contributed to set the example. His Majesty has seen with pleasure that you have recollected that the social compact, in assigning you the first rank among your fellow-citizens, imposes on you the duty of doing every

thing for the good of the country; of devoting, if it be necessary, to the liberty, the glory, and the independence of the State, your talents, your labours, and your fortunes.

The King has felt a most agreeable satisfaction in seeing the nobility, in all affairs of essential importance, form one and the same opinion with his expressed desires; and his Majesty, confiding in the sentiments and magnanimity of your order, will repose tranquilly, under cover of the buckler of honour and of patriotism.

I could not hear without emotion the expression of your gratitude and your sentiments; I owe you for them the deepest obligation.

The love which you bear for my Son, and the wishes you have formed for him, are intimately connected with the loyalty, the glory, and the repose of the Scandinavian people. You have been able during this Diet to observe his progress; and I see with much pleasure that he already justifies the hopes of the nation. This conviction completes my happiness, and I can await with calmness the moment which Providence has fixed to end my days.

Adieu, Gentlemen: continue to love your country and liberty. May God watch over each of you, and grant you his almighty protection.

Deputies of the Order of the Clergy,

The duties of citizens, which had assembled you round the throne, are completed; you are going to return to your peaceable abodes, to attend to the respected functions to which you have consecrated yourselves. In the dark ages, ignorance and superstition gave to your order an unlimited power over the minds and the will of men: civilization and knowledge have succeeded, and, ministers of a God of truth, you have renounced a sway which is incompatible with the doctrines you profess; you have renounced this dominion to exercise a more salutary influence, admitted by the heart and by reason.

If, in those times of calamity with which the Eternal Wisdom has sometimes judged it necessary to visit this country, your task has been to support the feeble, to console the unfortunate, to reanimate faded hopes, more pleasing duties now summon you.

You have to inspire into the souls of your flocks the sacred sentiments of the gratitude due to that God of mercy, who, in the midst of the calamities which have ravaged the world, has poured forth so many blessings upon Sweden. You will teach them that the manner most accept-

able to the Supreme Being of acknowledging and deserving his benefits, is to exercise the virtues of faithful subjects and of active and useful citizens. By instilling these precepts, you will obtain a reward superior to all worldly recompenses; that internal approbation, that peace of conscience, in the absence of which happiness is alike a stranger to the hut of the peasant and the palace of the prince.

Pray God, Gentlemen, that his powerful goodness may watch over the King and the two nations of Scandinavia. You have ever had claims on my affection, you have just acquired fresh ones to my gratitude.

Deputies of the Burgesses,

The deliberations of the Diet being concluded, the King has pronounced the close of the two assemblies. His Majesty recognizes the share which you have taken in producing the happy results of this Diet. On ceasing to serve the State in quality of representatives of the nation, you will continue to be useful to the country in the exercise of the duties of your different vocations. Commerce is the tie which unites the two hemispheres; it contributes to the perfection of the arts and of trades, to the

spread of knowledge, and to the communication of ideas from nation to nation. Ever since the time when, forming societies and civil compacts for their mutual security, men emerged from the state of simple nature, commerce became a necessity ; and experience has proved the error of systems, which tend to confine the trade of a nation to the narrow circle of its own productions. The Government, faithful to the principles of which your order has gathered the productive results, will always encourage with its protection commerce and industry, the attendants and supporters of agriculture, which cannot flourish without them, and whose prosperity has so great an influence on theirs. At a period when privations and sufferings have been the lot of other countries, Heaven has loaded ours with its most precious favours. Let us render ourselves worthy of their continuance by labour, by activity, and by economy. In the eyes of a patriot, the civic crown exceeds every other glory ; let this flattering reward be the object of your efforts, and they will prepare the auspices under which I hope to meet you again, when the interests of the State will recall you around your Monarch.

Rely, Gentlemen, on the protection which

your order has a right to require of me, and on the affection which I have vowed to you.

Good and loyal Peasants,

The deliberations of the Diet are finished, and the fields and the harvest now call you to other labours. You have just exercised the precious right of voting on the interests of the country, a right which the Scandinavian cultivator enjoys by virtue of just laws, of which he is at once the guarantee and defender. All men have risen from the common cradle of the different orders of society, and all derive their origin from the honourable class of agriculturists. When they consecrated this great truth in the form of government given to Sweden, your ancestors erected a monument of their own wisdom, and of the respect of their princes for the dignity of man. This respect, which is innate in me, and which has influenced my whole life, is an additional tie which binds me to you, good Peasants. Amid the fatigues of war, it was a pleasure to me to think upon your attachment. I remembered with emotion, that at the time when the country required defenders, it was with a touching devotion that you gave your children to its cause: these children will again repeat to you

that I have watched over them, that their health, their glory, their welfare have been the objects of my constant solicitude.

Go, good Peasants, and take with you my earnest wishes for your prosperity. Go, and resume the peaceable occupations, which do honour to man by bringing him near to the innocence of his primitive condition. Cherish the consoling conviction of having remained faithful to the sentiments which your ancestors have transmitted to you, attachment to your native land and to its independence, confidence in the paternal disposition of your King, of that King, who, chief of one great family, devoting his labours, consecrating his life to the happiness of his children, asks not, knows not a sweeter recompense than the tribute of their love and their gratitude.

THE CROWN-PRINCE TO MONSIEUR CATTEAU.

Stockholm, Jan. 30, 1816.

I have received a letter which you have addressed to me, with a copy of the History of the

Queen Christina. This work, which recalls remembrances glorious for Sweden, must obtain the approbation of the Swedish people. It gives me pleasure to add my personal sentiments towards the author, who, though he has quitted Sweden, has not renounced the attachment which he bore to it. You have given a new proof of this, Sir, by recording the memorable period, when a state, scarcely emerged from a long series of misfortunes, and still struggling against the factions which rent its bosom, saw itself on a sudden, by the genius of a great man, victorious in the most noble of causes on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, and holding in its hands the balance of Powers at a Congress, which was to insure for one hundred and fifty years the tranquillity of the Continent. I have had the glory of commanding the Swedes on the very plains which had been rendered illustrious by the triumphs of the great Gustavus. I will confess that my companions in arms and myself aspired to leave one day, as an example to our children, reminiscences worthy of those which inflamed us. It is from the impartial historian that the warrior expects lasting laurels. You, Sir, have just added one more to the ancient standard of Sweden. The King and myself owe you our gratitude, and

every good Swede his admiration. His Majesty has charged me to inform you that he has just named you Knight of his Order of the Polar Star, and that he has commanded that this decoration be sent you in diamonds. Receive, Monsieur Catteau, the expression of my marked sentiments. I pray God that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE CROWN-PRINCE IN THE ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE, JAN. 28, 1817.

Gentlemen,

To-day is the fifth anniversary, on which you have assembled for the purpose of joining the tribute of your labours to that union of happiness and festivity, with which his rural children know how to repay the cares and the solicitude of the best of Kings and the most tender of fathers.

For a society, whose labours embrace so large a circle of activity, five years are but the commencement of their existence, and it is not in

his first lustrum that man developes all his powers. Nature, in her wisdom, has subjected every thing to a gradation, which she herself follows in her labours, in order that she may give them more strength and more solidity; but man, impatient of enjoyment, often mars his own exertions by mischievous impatience. It is not in precocious fruits that we find substance or flavour.

It would be then, Gentlemen, a fatal error, and one which would cause you to fail in the accomplishment of your objects, if you did not measure the results, which you have a right to expect, by those which you have already obtained. You, who well know that the inhabitant of the country is no inventor, but essentially a copyist; that it is not by discourses and theories, but by facts and examples, that we are enabled to fix his attention; and that it is from no researches of his own, but by tradition that he is guided in the cultivation of his fields; you will adopt the simplest and most certain method of introducing the improvements of which his practice is susceptible.

Let us avoid, Gentlemen, the errors of so many societies of agriculture, whose existence has preceded ours.

Let us not incur the ridicule which has been

sometimes too justly heaped on them, of proposing the same cultivation for different climates and for different soils, and of laying down what are mere probabilities, as matters of demonstration. Well knowing that to warrant our proposal of the adoption of a new method, it is not sufficient for ourselves merely to be convinced of its superiority, let us not require the farmer to risk, on the strength of our assertions, the hopes of his harvest. Before we recommend him to substitute a new instrument in the place of that which he is accustomed to use, let us be certain that it can economise his strength, and that it is more easy in use, or cheaper of construction ; in short, let every improvement be promoted by little and little, and through the evidence of results obtained, by first addressing ourselves to those whose property protects them from the apprehensions of a first attempt.

Such an advancement, Gentlemen, does honour at once to your learning and to your philanthropy ; it is more slow, but it is more rational and more safe. It proves that you are capable even of sacrificing the soundest ideas to the march of time and experience. Pursue, then, with constancy, your honourable task : consider that it matters not to proceed quickly,

but to proceed well; and that public gratitude, though it may come late, will only be the more deserved and the more glorious.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE MILITARY DIVISIONS, AND TO THE KRIGSBEFÄL,* THE CHIEF OF WHICH, HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARSHAL COUNT DE STEDINGK, ADDRESSED HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ON THE OCCASION OF SOME DISTURBANCES. MARCH, 14, 1817.

Gentlemen,

I am sensible of the step which your attachment for me has prompted you to take to-day; I expected no less from my brave and faithful comrades in arms, who have seen what I have done for the country, and who know what I am ready to do for it again. What means this feeble and contemptible handful of turbulents, who seem to busy themselves in darkness to

* Krigsbefäl, a military assembly convened from time to time, in which the colonel of each regiment sits in his own right, and one captain, elected by the officers, for the purpose of regulating the pension fund.

disturb the public tranquillity ? If they aimed at nothing beyond the lives of myself and my Son, I should treat with contempt their plans and their endeavours. I am a soldier ; I have long ago learned to be careless of life ; but their object is to shake your laws, to attack your honour and your liberty ; I am bound in this case to rise and defend them. The free will of the nation has called me to the succession to the throne ; the army knows that I have not intrigued for this honour, but I have justified it by supporting your choice : in doing this, I have at the same time upheld your rights, and for that end I will exert that energy and strength of mind which Nature has granted me, and which, perhaps, have gained me some reputation. It was not to satisfy an empty pride that I came among you. My personal ambition is satiated, for myself I have acquired enough of glory. The happiness of Sweden is the only object to look to ; that alone is the first spring of all my actions. For you I desire liberty, for you I desire glory, for you I desire prosperity, and, spite of the attempts which shall be made, I will secure you these advantages, the most precious that can be enjoyed by good men. You know, Gentlemen, that I only proceed with the law, and it is with the law only that I

wish to proceed. But if, forgetting what I owe you—if, forgetful of my character and my principles, I were one day to suffer myself to be intoxicated with the cup of power, so as to make attempts on your liberty, dare to bring me to myself again; it is the duty of the brave to speak with frankness and loyalty; my heart will be ever ready to listen to you; and if, the enemy of my own glory and my own interests, I refuse to listen to you, then turn—I give my consent—turn against me those same arms, which you have just offered me on this occasion for my defence.

Gentlemen, You have no need to renew your oaths to me, I were ungrateful did I doubt of your sentiments. They have dared to throw suspicions on some of my brothers in arms, but I rejected the odious surmise; I remembered with gratitude and emotion, the title of Father, which the army had so often decreed me. The brave can never be perjured; under the garb and in the heart of a Soldier there ever reside honour and good faith.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE BURGESSES OF STOCKHOLM, MARCH 14, 1817.

Gentlemen,

I needed not this new proof of devotion, which you give me to-day, to be convinced of the attachment which you bear to me as well as to my Son.

For some months past vague rumours have been circulated in the country: one day, the King had just breathed his last; another, my Son was on the point of dying; another time again, it was I who was threatened. It was thus that they attempted to spread disquietude in the country. Some disclosures having been since made, they attracted the attention of the police, and even of Government. Judicial investigations have been ordered, and the guilty or the false accusers will be judged according to the existing laws. If it were only my life which they desired, I could have pardoned the authors of these reports; but it was your liberty, your constitution, your laws, and your honour, which guarantees those laws, it was these objects, the most sacred to all good men, which they wanted to endanger.

When, in the despair into which a long series of disasters had plunged you, you directed your attention to those princes who were known by the services which they had rendered to their country, and you fixed your choice on me, I resolved to deserve it; I even felt my capacity increase at the idea of your perils, and capable of forming the most vast designs to answer your confidence, I consented to quit for you the sweets of a retired life, to which I had resolved to consecrate the remainder of my existence: I devoted myself to the service of a nation, of old so celebrated, and then so unfortunate. I came among you; for titles and for guarantees, I brought you my actions and my sword: if I could have added to them a lineage of ancestry from Charles Martel, I could only have desired it for your sakes; for myself, I am equally proud of my services and the glory which has raised me. To all these titles I add that of the adoption of the King, and of the unanimous election of a free people. It is on them that I found my rights, and so long as justice and honour shall not be banished from the earth, these rights are more legitimate and more sacred than if I were a descendant of Odin. The annals of the world prove that no prince ever ascended the throne except by the con-

sent of the people, or by force of arms. It was not by arms that I opened myself a road to the succession to the throne of Sweden, it was the free choice of the nation which called me, and it is of this right that I speak to you. Consider the state in which we were when I arrived, and see what we are now.

It is true, that there are evil-minded people in all countries; but the few who can be found here, have no other cause for their discontent than the tranquillity which this country enjoys. There are certain mischievous beings who only love disturbance; disorder is their element, and supports, if I may say so, their existence: but this feeble handful of turbulents does not require extraordinary measures to repress their efforts, and to remind them of their duty. The King proceeds according to law, and the law will be strong enough without recurring to extreme measures. Every thing, Gentlemen, ought to inspire us with this security. The interior is tranquil. The course of justice has been nowhere interrupted. The cultivator thanks Heaven for the calm which he enjoys. We have nothing to apprehend from abroad; we do not busy ourselves with what passes there, and we have assurances that foreign Powers act in like manner by us. Your rights,

then, are secured both in the interior and without; and every thing assures us that it will be long before we shall be obliged to defend them: but if it were necessary, if the national honour called for it; followed by a faithful army, trained in war, and disciplined and supported by the supreme will of the King and the nation, I would march to meet our enemies, preceded by the omen of success; and on such occasions I would willingly shed my last drop of blood in the service of the country.

I cannot express myself as I could wish in the Swedish language, but my Son, he speaks it for me; he has been brought up in the midst of you, and it is on him that your great hopes should centre: as for myself, I speak the language of honour and of liberty, and that is understood by every Swede who truly loves his country.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE ORDER OF PEASANTS, MARCH 15, 1817.

Worthy Members of the honourable Order of Peasants,

It is with the most lively satisfaction that I receive your address. I have ever been assured of the sentiments which you have expressed to me on your part, and on that of the brave peasants of Sweden.

The judicial power is about to examine whether there are guilty persons. To calm you, I can give you the assurance, that the public tranquillity and the inviolability of our constitution are in no danger, and that the King, myself, and my Son, have received from all quarters the most ardent testimonies of fidelity and attachment.

I and my Son may soon die, but if it be the will of Providence that such an event should take place, I have sufficient confidence in the noble and firm character of the Swedish nation, in the love of liberty and independence which has ever animated it, to feel persuaded that it will maintain its resolutions, and always remain worthy of itself. I pray you, honest and

worthy peasants, to make known to all your brethren the sentiments of affection and of confidence which I have vowed them for ever.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE CROWN-PRINCE AT THE KRIGSBEFÄL, MARCH, 27, 1817.

Gentlemen,

It is with sincere pleasure that I see the labours of the Krigsbefäl terminated to the satisfaction of the King and of the Army. I expected nothing less from the spirit of justice and disinterestedness which has directed your deliberations; they furnish a fresh proof of all the good that a government can produce in every class of the state, when, by an open and just course of proceeding, it watches over the interest of all.

Force is the ally and auxiliary of the law. So long as the latter is respected, force is inactive. But if the laws be violated, if the social balance be destroyed, it is to the pillars of the state, to the defenders of the country, that the

people have recourse to repress the evil-disposed. When he is called to combat enemies from without, the warrior sheds with pleasure his blood for his country, and the gratitude of that country does honour to his ashes. He who has fought for the rights of his country, and has renounced some of his own to comply with the strictness of military discipline, is the person on whom all eyes are fixed in the moment of danger.

Let us recollect, Gentlemen, that it is arms which raise empires, while good laws insure their durability. Let us recollect again, that these same laws, however just, and however salutary, may be overthrown, either by foreign legions, or by domestic inactivity, if he, who ought to watch over all, hesitates for an instant to call in the assistance of armed force, when it is necessary to inforce respect for the will of the nation, expressed by the organ of their representatives.

The army indelta* is the palladium of our liberty. The immortal Charles XI. created it, and insured by its organization the existence of Sweden. Our constitution and our funda-

* The army indelta is composed of those regiments, the soldiers of which are supported by proprietors, and the officers in general by domains.

mental laws have consecrated this act of foresight conceived by the genius of that great King. So far from wishing to do away with so useful an institution, as some persons have sedulously circulated, his Majesty meditates on the means of perfecting it. Already has a great part of the contracts of the Colonels been reimbursed, and a sum of more than three hundred thousand rix-dollars, designed to make the first payments, is expended. His Majesty is also engaged in increasing the appointments of the officers of many regiments indelta, whose pay is not on a scale with that of the other corps of the army. His Majesty hopes to accomplish it without being obliged to have recourse to the public treasure.

The sacrifices and anxieties of the King to maintain the credit of our circulating medium, are amply compensated by the thanks which you have offered at the foot of the throne. The nation, generous and liberal, does not desire that the children of their country should receive as a recompense for their services a valueless paper; and what Swede can look with tranquillity on the attempts which some would make on our national credit? Who could see with indifference the public administration and the security of the State compromised for de-

fault of funds to provide for them? The King has felt the extent of his obligations, he has fulfilled them. Assisted, Gentlemen, by you, by the public officers, and by all good men, his Majesty has grounds for hoping that the considerable sums contained in your fund, and which should serve to insure you a peaceable old age, will be at the least maintained in the same value in which you now leave them. I can assure you, that his Majesty will not relax his efforts, and that I will employ all my zeal and all the means in my power to consolidate this property of the brave, the only resource for their old age.

The sentiments which his Excellency the Marshal has just expressed in the name of the army, will remain engraved on my heart in indelible characters.

Adieu, Gentlemen! On taking leave of you, with prayers to the Almighty to guide and protect you, I believe that I shall please you, when I invite you to pray for the King, the father of the country. The vows of the brave are fervent and sincere, and Heaven, who reads their hearts, always listens to their prayers.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO A BODY OF MERCHANTS OF THE CITY OF STOCKHOLM, APRIL 13, 1817.

Gentlemen,

The step which you have just taken will be very agreeable to the King. It is a striking proof of your disinterestedness and your civism, it sets a good example to the rest of the commercial community.

His Majesty entertains an equal solicitude for all the classes of the State; he loves to see them combine for the common prosperity. The King knows too well the importance and the utility of commerce to suffer it to have any other shackles than what the interest of all imposes on it; but this interest is the supreme law, and the first duty of a good government is to prevent it being misunderstood.

You know, Gentlemen, the character of our country: you cannot deny that the nature of the soil and the climate has circumscribed our enjoyments. It is to be desired, then, that industry and commerce should vie in their efforts to increase and extend them. The Government will exert itself for their encouragement. But if it happen that persons err; if industry is

exercised on productions which come from abroad instead of on those which Nature furnishes us; if the speculations of certain persons favour importation instead of exportation, it is very evident, that, instead of conspiring towards the common prosperity, this industry and this commerce would involve the ruin of the State; and if we had money in circulation it would finally disappear.

The Government, therefore, ought to consider it one of its most sacred duties to direct its care to maintain an exact balance between the articles exported and those imported, whatever may be their value or their description; and it is necessary that those who make the exchanges themselves an object of industry, should be subjected to this superintendence, and should expect to be included in the general rule. They should know, that no one can live at the charge of the State without supporting its expences; and that the cultivator has a right to complain, if he sees his contributions doubled through the ill-conceived operations of some individuals: they should know, in short, that it is but just that the people, that mass which constitutes the strength of all states, should be the object of the constant solicitude of a govern-

ment which knows its duties and is determined to fulfil them.

These, Gentlemen, are the true principles which should direct commerce and industry in a social body. It is only by making them subordinate to the general interest, that they become the beneficial channels of public prosperity. If we permit private interest to turn aside their course, we see, it is true, some great fortunes created; but the rest droop, the fountains are dried up, and the state is on the brink of ruin.

It is only to a forgetfulness of these principles that we must ascribe the financial crisis from which the King has just extricated us. His Majesty does not regret the sacrifices which it has cost him. He could not make a better use of his resources, than in remedying an evil which some ill-planned speculations had caused. But what we may choose to consider as an error, which his paternal heart has prompted him to repair, would in another instance become an inexcusable crime, which the law ought to repress.

Your example, Gentlemen, is a good omen. My heart tells me that your patriotism cannot want imitators. The good Swedes do not give themselves up to the insensibility of selfishness;

they love to salute one another with the name of brother, and they will not desire to augment their fortune at the expense of public esteem. Preserve and propagate these noble sentiments: let us not suffer that national spirit which distinguishes us to be weakened; let us, in short, be Swedes; let us not be content with only half that title.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE BANK, ON THEIR PRESENTING HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS WITH A MEDAL, STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE OATH OF FIDELITY TAKEN BY THE PRINCE OSCAR TO THE KING, AND OF HIS PROFESSION OF FAITH MADE AT THE FOOT OF THE ALTAR, MAY 19, 1817.

Gentlemen,

You have just offered me a new proof of the wisdom of the States of the kingdom, and of their solicitude for the prosperity of the nation which they represent.

Far different from those monuments which are erected by servitude to the vanity of men, the medals which the States of Sweden have caused to be struck, have a more noble and

a more useful end. It is thus that we have seen the nation commemorate that memorable period, when, seizing the reins of the State which was on the brink of ruin, it entrusted them to a Prince who was so well entitled to receive them, and who was so worthy of its confidence and affection. Thus, too, we have seen them commemorate the period when, the decree of Providence having deprived them of a successor to the throne, the nation assembled to make a new choice, and gave, by its unanimous vote, the most striking proof that its resolution was not the effect of passion or of haste, but of a necessary and firm deliberation, having for its object to repair a long series of misfortunes and disasters.

By such medals the States of the kingdom leave imperishable evidences of the will of the nation, and of their stipulations for the maintenance of their rights, and of the social compact which results from that maintenance.

I see in the medal, which you this day offer me, the laudable intention of the States to remind my son of the profession of faith which he has made at the foot of the altar, and of the oath of fidelity which he has taken to the King and the Swedish people. They thereby identify themselves with me in the care which

I take to impress on the heart of my son the extent of his obligations. Hitherto I have found him answer my expectations; I see developed in him my own sentiments of love and of gratitude for the King, who has named me his son, and for the nation, which has by so many solemn acts sanctioned that adoption. This double legitimacy excites in the soul of my son the most ardent emulation to share with me the duties which I perform with our august Monarch, and to prepare himself for the burthen which awaits him. But if the decree of Providence were to abandon his youth to the dangers which even a maturer age finds so much difficulty to avoid, the sight alone of this medal would, I am convinced, suffice to excite in his soul the desire of surrounding himself with men of integrity and worthy of the public confidence, and the representatives of the nation would once more have cause to congratulate themselves on their wise precautions.

It is, therefore, with a lively and deep interest that I add this medal to those which I have already received. By transmitting to my Consort the one which you offer me for her, I shall increase the desire which she feels of being able shortly to come among you.

It is with pleasure, Gentlemen, that I renew to you on this occasion the assurance of my constant regard.

SPEECH OF THE CROWN-PRINCE IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE, THE DAY ON WHICH HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA TOOK HIS SEAT FOR THE FIRST TIME, JULY 14, 1817.

Sire,

This meeting of the Council in which my Son takes his seat for the first time excites in my heart a strong emotion. For him, as for myself, it is a new benefaction, for which we are indebted to your Majesty. I am certain, Sire, that he cannot mistake the motives which have called him to your Council of State. I presume to hope that your Majesty will permit me to develope them, and that the members of the Council will willingly yield for this time to the tenderness of a father a duty which each of them could equally well fulfil.

My dear Son, the education which you have hitherto received, has been merely a preparatory

education; the knowledge which you have acquired is common to you with all the young people of your age, whose parents have wished to make them well-informed and virtuous men and useful citizens. No more is necessary for those who in private life confine themselves to the honest enjoyment of their fortunes; but those who are destined for the duties of the State and for public offices, must render themselves fit for them by labours of a new kind. To-day, therefore, your peculiar education does but begin, that, I mean, of the station to which you are called.

In the care which I have taken to prepare you, I have principally dwelt on the study of history; it is now that you will begin to be sensible how useful may be its lessons. It has shown you the origin of princes, it has taught you the source of their titles, and how those titles are lost and are destroyed. It must have convinced you that a prince must purchase his exalted rank by eminent virtues and superior qualities; that by great actions they excite the admiration of the people, but that they must perform good ones to win their love. All that interest or flattery have invented to give an irresponsibility to princes quickly disappears before the light of truth. Utility, justice—

these are the tests which are respected by ages, these the only foundations for real fame.

This great truth, my Son, the study of history should already have taught you. Engrave its lessons deeply in your heart; bear in mind that the august crown, which is decreed you by a free people, will never be firmly fixed on a head inflated with pride and with caprice. Bear in mind, that you must prepare yourself for your functions by a profound consciousness of the duties of a King and of the rights of a people.

Evil be to the prince who persuades himself, that by effacing the traces of the rights of his nation, he exalts the splendour and the power of his throne. Remember, my Son, that he is the wisest prince who keeps his eye steadfastly fixed on the elements which threaten the destruction of empires, who arrests them before the explosion bursts, and who knows how to prevent their return by his own respect for the laws.

It is to an intimate acquaintance with these laws, for the purpose of following them yourself, of making them observed by others, and of carrying them to still greater perfection, that you must henceforth direct all your exertions. It is the science of government which must be the object of your new studies; it is this which is the completion of your education.

We have long been accustomed to compare a state to a family; the head of the state, administering with wisdom the public fortune, to an economical father, provident and jealous of the welfare of his children. Of such a government, then, we say, that it is paternal; and of those who thus govern, that they are the fathers of their people. This language is simple as the idea which it expresses; mankind have consecrated it as the type of the administration of states, whatever may be the form of their government.

In states as in families, there are many causes of increase and prosperity, and many causes of decay and ruin. The father of a family may be of a temperate disposition, a friend of order and economy; he may exert in the cultivation of his estate, or in the direction of his manufactories, the most industrious activity; he may strictly regulate his expenses by his income; all this will not suffice to insure the welfare and the destiny of his children. He must not be quiet, he must not think that he has performed his duty, until, by a wise foresight, he shall have increased his stores so that he can encounter the year of scarcity or of stagnation; until, by his wisdom and the strength of his character, he shall have succeeded in bringing up and main-

taining his children in the same spirit of order, of activity, and of industry; until, in short, he shall have secured their inheritance from any controversy occasioned by his own connections, or the transactions of preceding years.

The prosperity of a state depends on causes still more complicated, for it embraces not only the general relations which bind the different classes of which it is composed mutually together—the government to the nation, and the nation to the government—but also the particular relations of this government with those of other nations.

It is not enough for a government to attempt by an economical and prudent administration to satisfy the interests which bind it to the nation, as well as the private interests of each of its classes. The existence of such a State would still be precarious, if this government did not keep its eyes open to the proceedings of its neighbours, if it were not provided with either the means or the will to repel an unjust aggression. The history of nations has afforded but too good evidence that their very greatness is sometimes the cause of their ruin, and that a people cannot reckon on a long peace except by ever keeping themselves in readiness for war.

Neither, also, is it enough for a government

to direct all its attention to keep itself in harmony with foreign states: it is not enough by a warlike attitude to secure yourself from all hostile enterprises: the state would not be going the less rapidly to its ruin, if, by a bad system of interior administration, the true sources of public prosperity were allowed to be diverted or to be drained. Woe to the people, whose monarch is only fit to be a warrior; woe to those who have only an economist for their head. Nations, in ignorance and barbarism, were long seduced by military glory alone; in their songs and their festivals they celebrated only the heroes who led them to battle. But the nations, whom the torch of reason guides to the object which Nature points out to them, have discovered by a long experience, and by a sad series of calamities, that it is in the concurrence and the combination of military and political science, that the art of governing a nation and of accomplishing their happiness essentially exists. The government which is acquainted with this art, and which applies it with courage, is entitled to that gratitude which, in an enlightened age, is the reward of genius and of virtue.

Such are the maxims which have regulated my conduct since that period, for me so glorious, when the Swedish nation and its virtuous

monarch, by a double adoption, imposed on me the sacred obligation of employing all my faculties in the defence of their rights, and in a devotion to their happiness.

In my ardent desire to justify so noble a confidence, my first cares were devoted to the study of the fundamental laws of the State, to a discovery of the elements of its existence, to a full knowledge of its resources, and to the observation of the customs and the virtues of my new countrymen. Suddenly carried away from these occupations by the invasion of our territory, we were forced to draw the sword and fly with our brave soldiers to the defence of our rights outrageously attacked. The state of affairs in Europe did not permit us to confine ourselves to avenging our own injuries. Sweden was forced to make common cause with the victims of oppression. This cause was just; Providence seconded our efforts, and the result of this grand struggle was to re-establish in the North a new order of things, which re-united with the old Scandinavian family a people, attached to them by Nature herself, and which the passions of man alone could have separated.

Happy in having fully accomplished all that had been required by circumstances no less urgent than difficult, full of confidence in the

harmony which reigned among the governments, whose faith could not be suspected, since their common reverses and successes had engaged them to unite for the tranquillity of Europe; able also to rely on the excellent system of military defence which we had succeeded in establishing; every thing, in short, proclaiming that our tranquillity and our happiness only depended on ourselves, I directed my cares and all my thoughts to the important object of the administration of the interior, which we should consider as the legitimate source of our future prosperity.

To the information which I had collected from the writings, or in the society of the most celebrated characters, on what constitutes the administration of a state, to the information which I had acquired by my own experience, I wished to add new and more positive knowledge on that system of administration which would best suit Sweden, from the nature of her resources, of her relations, and of her locality. I animated the zeal of all those whom I thought capable of supplying me with information and useful notions, I sought for them in all classes, and I have given the most constant attention to their memoirs and their conversations. I have almost always found in them

unequivocal proofs of their uprightness, and of their zeal for the good of the country. It is with heartfelt satisfaction that I render them this tribute, and thus return them my thanks for their assistance.

But from all my researches, and from the profound meditations on the results with which they have supplied me, I have learnt how rare and even difficult it is to raise oneself to a height suitable to consider questions of this nature, questions in which one wishes to seize upon the connections of things in all their ramifications, without which it is impossible to obtain their exact solution. I have found that partial laws were almost always stamped with a mark of individuality, that this was the most radical fault, and the most difficult to avoid, because it originates in human weakness, and because each order of the State is naturally directed to turn the march of administration to their own advantage. I warn you of this stumbling-block—it will too often lie in your way. You will find that the word "to govern" has a different meaning in the language of each class of the State, and if care be not taken to make them understand that this latitude, which each one claims, cannot be permitted unless it harmonizes with the common interest, to which it

is indispensable that all should be subordinate, you will only have a disordered, incoherent, and capricious system—a system which will infallibly produce an increase of price in the commodities necessary for the first wants of life, which will bring misery on the people, and in its train those tumults and commotions which demoralize nations, and are the first causes of their decay.

But ought this to be the case in a nation like Sweden, which is so constituted by its fundamental laws, that each class of the State is called to deliberate on the framing of the laws which must direct it; and where the Government, to which the execution and maintenance of those laws is confided, derives all its power from the will of the nation? Such a nation ought to create for itself a system of administration more agreeable and more in conformity with its social compact. In order that this system may not be in opposition to its fundamental laws, the interests of each class must be so nicely balanced, that all kinds of property and all objects of industry should be equally protected in all that is in conformity with the common weal. This system must of necessity hold forth the accordance of the public good with individual advantages, as the only object which

the Government should propose itself, and which the governed ought to expect from it. It must, in short, be established by such simple and positive laws, that the internal laws of the State shall be framed with as much regard to the general good as the act of the Constitution itself.

This it is which constitutes the only system of rational and just administration, the only one worthy of a people conscious of its dignity and jealous of its rights, and determined to maintain them.

It is to attain so important a result, and to carry our system of administration to this exalted point of perfection, that his Majesty proposes to convoke the States of the kingdom. He wishes to confide to their learning and to their patriotism the means of consolidating this improvement by their legislative authority. The nation will answer this august appeal, and will second such generous intentions. And you, my Son, how ought you to congratulate yourself on being admitted to the Council of State on an occasion when it is employed in discussing objects of such importance.

You now understand what are the great and solid principles of the father of his country, with whom I am so happy as to have but one

thought and one sentiment. Let your soul be penetrated with all the august and sacred recollections which the fourth day of July possesses for you; recollect that it is by its results that you must repay that beloved King who has consecrated to us all the affections of his heart, and who, at the end of his long and glorious career, will fix on you one last look of confidence and love.

On this day, by your age, as well as by our laws, you are no longer under the parental authority; but that authority you know, my Son, ever was for you only that of my tenderness; neither the laws nor your age can weaken it, and you will still be under its wing, as long as Providence shall spare the days of your father and of mine. Take advantage, my dear Son, of the time which it grants us; strengthen your mind and your character! Let the cares and the burthen which await you ever find you ready to support them.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE TOWN OF ÖREBRO, WHO PRESENTED HIM, ON THE 10th OF JULY, 1817, WITH A MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE ELECTION OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS.

The medal which you have presented to me, Gentlemen, recals to my mind the time when the Swedish people and their venerable monarch gave me the preference over many princes who showed themselves so ambitious of obtaining it. It was not the first time that the Swedish nation had sought in camps for the supporters of their rights and their independence. I am happy to have justified your choice, by fulfilling, as much as was in my power, the extent of my obligations. The marks of confidence and devotion which I have received from the province of Néricia, and especially from the town of which you are the deputies, ought to convince you, Gentlemen, of the sentiments which I bear towards you all. The town of Örebro has particular claims on my remembrance. In its bosom was formed the national wish, which binds my destinies irrevocably to those of Sweden ; and it was there also, that on the occasion of an unexampled crisis in Europe, which threatened the existence

of nations and of governments, the nation, by fixing the age at which their youth should be called to defend the country, showed its resolution of remaining worthy of its ancestors.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the medal which you have presented to me for my consort, and I will fulfil your desire by placing it in her hands.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE STATES-GENERAL, NOV. 26, 1817.

Deputies of the Nobility,

You are acquainted with the events in consequence of which the King has deemed it necessary to assemble around him the representatives of the people. His example should render us provident; you are about to deliberate on the fortune and the credit of the State, and it is with calmness and tranquillity that you should watch over such interests, and discuss the project which the King is about to present you. The pilot who steers the vessel finds it easy to

avoid the breakers when the crew are willing workers.

The King is persuaded that the nobility of the kingdom will continue on this occasion to set the example of a general devotion to the interests and the glory of the country.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurances of my sincere attachment, and of the wishes which I form for every thing that can be agreeable to you.

Deputies of the Order of the Clergy,

The proclamation of the King has informed you of the motives which have induced his Majesty to convene the States-General: the crisis which has just taken place affords an important lesson which ought to be useful to us.

The Clergy, whose holy office it is to disseminate learning and the Word of God, will set an example of prudence and foresight. The King appreciates too well the deserts of your order, not to reckon invariably on both the one and the other.

You know the attachment which I bear for you, and to which you daily increase your rights. The sentiments which you have just declared shall be for ever treasured up in my heart, and in that of my Son.

Deputies of the Order of Burgesses,

The great advances made by the King for two consecutive years, having only operated in retarding the failure of the *caisses d'escompte*, his Majesty has re-assembled the States-General of the kingdom, in order to deliberate with them on the most efficacious method of lessening the consequences of such an event, and of preventing the possibility of its recurring in future.

No order, Gentlemen, is so much interested as yours in preserving a steady value for the circulating medium in all transactions. By constantly keeping in view, that the solidity of the public fortune is the best guarantee of private wealth, the Order of Burgesses will contribute to the grand object which it has to discuss, and it will insure its own prosperity by labouring for that of the country.

Good and honourable Peasants,

The States-General have been convened because the *caisses d'escompte* have suspended their payments. The sacrifices, which the King has been making for two years, have not been able to prevent their fall. His Majesty will order to be presented to the representatives, depositaries of the interests and the wishes of

his faithful subjects, a project for remedying the inconveniences caused by the present catastrophe, and for eradicating at the same time one of the most destructive evils to a state, namely, the fluctuation of the value of the circulating medium.

How important is it to you, my good Peasants, who cultivate the earth, to receive, when you sell the fruits of your labour, a coin which shall preserve the value for which it was given you, and in which you need fear no depreciation from one day to another.

The loyal zeal, which your order has for ages exhibited, will assist you in attaining this important end, and while cordially uniting your labours with those of your colleagues of the other orders, you will remember that you are all children of the same mother, and that your interests and hers are inseparable.

I pray Heaven to repay the labours of the cultivator, and the accomplishment of this prayer will always be one of the first enjoyments of my life.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO A DEPUTATION FROM THE PROVINCE OF MALMÖHUS, DEC. 15, 1817.

Gentlemen,

Next to the happiness which a Prince feels when he has been useful to his fellow-citizens, what he should most desire is to see his services discerned and appreciated. You know, Gentlemen, that I have not challenged your thanks, but I receive them with pleasure, and my heart is grateful for them. I shall always feel a real satisfaction, whenever I shall be able to give you proofs of my affection; and when occasions present themselves for its exertion, you may address yourself to me with the most perfect confidence.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO THE GRAND DEPUTATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL, WHO PRESENTED THEIR VOTE OF THANKS, DEC. 23, 1817.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for the step you have taken, it gives me an opportunity of telling you, that the

services which I have had the happiness to render you have fulfilled my hopes. For six successive reigns great misfortunes and, perhaps, faults, have overwhelmed Sweden. The reign of the virtuous Charles XIII. has repaired the one, and consoled you for the other. This good King and his adopted Son, the object of your choice, may, perhaps, have some claims on your gratitude. Cherish, Gentlemen, all that which you owe to your Sovereign, and as to the portion which you think is due to me, I beseech you to reserve it for my Son.

An enlightened and liberal Government desires to be judged by its actions: it is the only national homage which it can wish for; such homage is engraved in the hearts of all virtuous citizens. In assembling you, his Majesty has only wished to lay open the arena of patriotism. It is in its circle that statesmen, the luminaries of the church, jurisconsults, patriot warriors, economists, and skilful financiers, discover themselves. It is there that the King should be able to distinguish beforehand all men capable of serving the nation and of raising it to that height of glory and prosperity, which it will one day attain, if a noble emulation unites the efforts of all good citizens round the altar of their country.

Gentlemen, my sentiments and my wishes are sufficiently well known to you. Placed between the King and the nation, the first subject and the first citizen, I will always set you the example of devotion to the Monarch and of respect for the Constitution.

ANSWER OF THE CROWN-PRINCE TO A DEPUTATION OF THE STATES, ON PRESENTING THEIR RESOLUTION THAT THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA MIGHT ASSUME THE GOVERNMENT IN CASE OF THE ILLNESS OF THE KING AND THE PRINCE ROYAL, JAN. 20, 1818.

Gentlemen,

The resolution, which the States-General of the kingdom have submitted to the King for his sanction, is a monument of their foresight and of their respect for the will of the nation. The unanimity, with which this measure has been carried, is a new pledge of the fidelity which the Swedes will preserve for my Son. I congratulate him, not on his having been elected one day to mount the throne, his own experience will teach him the cares and the

solicitude inseparable from so exalted a situation; but I congratulate him on having been able, on arriving at the age of maturity, to unite without any exertion on his part, the spontaneous suffrages of the nation and of its representatives.

May Heaven, Gentlemen, inspire you with the same union, the same concord in the resolutions which you are about to make for the good of the people. May the love which I bear for it, and which I am sure you divide with me, conduct you to results happy and satisfactory for its dignity and for its internal welfare.

PROCLAMATION OF THE KING TO THE INHABITANTS OF SWEDEN, ANNOUNCING HIS ASCENT OF THE THRONE AS KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

Stockholm, Feb. 5, 1818.

When in consequence of the proposition made by our late father, the most puissant King and Sovereign Charles XIII. to the

States-General, we were unanimously elected on the 21st of August, 1810, as his successor to the throne of Sweden; and when, called at once by the voice of the Monarch and the will of the people, we accepted this glorious but difficult vocation, we were guided by the powerful consideration, that your free and spontaneous resolution was brought about by circumstances which were entirely unknown to us, and entirely independent of our will. This resolution caused us to renounce a peaceable life, which was then the object of all our desires. We received, on our arrival in Sweden, the most striking proof of the confidence and tenderness of your King in the act by which he adopted us as his son; and this adoption, by impressing a more solemn and sacred seal on your proceedings, augmented in a still greater degree our obligations and our devotion towards our new country. During the years which have elapsed since this period, so precious to our heart, we have tried to fulfil towards this Prince, ever loved and ever regretted, all the duties of a faithful subject and of a tender son, and we have each day found the highest recompense for our efforts in his paternal affection.

This blessing for us exists no more; death has snatched from us him who had devoted to

us all his affections. Torn from our arms, from those of an inconsolable wife, from the circle of his weeping family,—taken from a people of whom he was twice the preserver, he died with the tranquillity of a philosopher, with the calm of a pure conscience; and accompanied by the consolations of religion and the tears of gratitude, he has gone to claim his reward in a better world. We received for you his last benedictions, which were as fervent at the end of his career as in the days of the fulness of his vigour.

Ascending, in consequence of this sorrowful event, the throne of Sweden and Norway, to govern the two kingdoms in accordance with their fundamental laws and the Riks-Akt, decreed and resolved on by the States-General of Sweden, on the 6th of August, and by the Storthing of Norway on the 31st of July, 1815, we give you our Royal assurance that we will govern the kingdom according to the act of the Diet of the 2nd of May, 1810.

Ever since our first entering into the land of Sweden, the principal object of our cares has been to defend your liberty, your rights, and your independence. Providence has deigned to crown our efforts, and on this mournful occasion our first duty, as well as our first thought,

has directed us in like manner to invoke its powerful protection for the happy issue of our future labours. We look forward to be strongly supported by your unanimity, and by your patriotism. On close terms of union with your Constitutional King, you will continue to be free and independent; it is thus that you will do most worthy honour to the memory of a Prince, whom we this day lament in common with yourselves. May his guardian manes ever watch over the destiny of a people, who were rendered happy by his cares, and who, on the tomb of their King, may exclaim in the fulness of their gratitude, "Without him we should not enjoy those laws which we have ourselves established, nor that land of liberty which contains the ashes of our fathers, nor that future prospect which his virtues and his sacrifices have prepared for us."

Whereupon we pray Almighty God to have you, our good and faithful subjects, in his holy and worthy keeping.

[The Norwegian proclamation, besides a few trifling changes, had the following conclusion.]

May his guardian manes ever watch over the destiny of a people who were rendered happy

by his cares, and who may exclaim over the tomb of their King, in the fulness of gratitude, "He calmed by his wisdom the spirit of dissension; he succeeded by an even-handed justice in uniting them with the bonds of fraternity: had it not been for him, Hatred would still be exhaling her venom among the nations of the North, which is now dissipated by the splendour of his immortal name."

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, FEBRUARY 17, 1818.

Gentlemen,

Never had grief a more just and sacred cause than that which the members of the University of Upsala have manifested at the news of an event which has plunged in mourning the two kingdoms of Scandinavia. Unhappily, it is but too true: Charles XIII. is no more. The country has lost him who honoured and defended it for forty years of his life; him, in short, who found his only personal happiness

in the benefits he dispensed, in the protection which he afforded to Literature and Science, and in the institutions which he founded in favour of public education. I have deeply felt this loss; Heaven has taken away from me my King, my father, I may venture to say, my friend, but it has left me the example of his virtues for my guide.

It is with pleasure that I comply with the request you have made. The post of Chancellor of the University of Upsala will furnish my Son with opportunities of profiting by your learning, and of personally judging of the different modes of instruction. By frequenting your University as much as his other duties permit him, he will be able betimes to mark out among the youth, who attend your lectures, the servants and future props of the State.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL, TO REQUEST THAT HIS CORONATION MIGHT TAKE PLACE WHILE THEY WERE ASSEMBLED, FEBRUARY 19, 1818.

Gentlemen,

If any thing could soften the profound grief, into which I have been plunged by the death of a King who had so many titles to my veneration, it would be the sorrow which the nation has shown on the occasion of this sad and deplorable event, a sorrow which the members of the States-General have been the foremost to express.

In calling to his reward the defender of the State, the father of his people, Providence, has wished to put both our constancy and our patriotism to the test. That Providence, who reads the hearts of men, has seen the sincerity of our grief; it will deign, in its Almighty goodness, to watch over the two ancient realms of the North, and to listen to the fervent prayers of the monarch whom we lament.

Inheriting, as I do, his love for you, I pray Heaven to grant me power to execute all that the amiable and generous soul of that Prince had conceived for your prosperity.

I am sensible of the sincerity of your senti-

ments towards me, from the step which you have taken, and you may announce to the States-General that I acquiesce in their request. The ceremonial of the Coronation adds nothing either to the obligations or the prerogatives of a prince; but by sanctifying the ties which unite him to the people, it furnishes a free nation with the opportunity of rendering its solemn homage to him, whom it has invested with a lawful power, for the purpose of maintaining each citizen in his rights. This ceremony, at the same time, is an additional reason for a prince to remember the gratitude due to a people, who find the accomplishment of their desires in the splendour and the respect with which they invest him.

I feel a sweet satisfaction in renewing to you the assurance of the sentiments of regard, which you know I entertain for the States-General of the kingdom, and for each one of its members individually.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE NORWEGIAN STORTHING, WHO CONGRATULATED HIM ON HIS ASCENDING THE THRONE, MAY 10, 1818.

Gentlemen,

I receive with gratitude this new assurance of devotion and fidelity which you have just offered me in the name of the Storthing: I am particularly pleased by the selection of yourselves as the interpreters of its sentiments.

It is with pleasure that I see you in the midst of the Swedes. You may convince yourselves in person of the fraternal sentiments which they entertain for you; you will inform your countrymen of it, and you will tell them, that every friend of the two Scandinavian nations ought, like me, to cherish the hope of seeing these two brother-people duly strengthen their mutual confidence by relations of reciprocal utility: relations guaranteed by sacred oaths, by the first proviso of the Constitution, and by the Rigs-Act, which has been its consequence.

At the time of your departure I will charge you with my answer to the Storthing, and you will be again the depositaries of my wishes for the prosperity of the Norwegian people.

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE DAY OF TAKING THE OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE AND HOMAGE, MAY 19, 1818.

Deputies of the Order of the Nobility, of the Clergy, of the Burgesses, and you, good Peasants,

The solemn seal of religion, stamped on the compact which has united the destinies of the Swedish nation with mine, and with those of my Son, has, in an indissoluble manner, bound our existence to yours. You are witnesses of the oath which I have taken before God; I have invoked His inexhaustible goodness in behalf of that people, adorned with so many virtues, a people whom a noble perseverance ranks among the most renowned nations whose brilliant deeds are recorded by history. May Heaven listen to my prayers: may it pour forth all its blessings on the nation of whom we are the representatives!

Resolved to maintain and to defend your rights, we will exert all our efforts to place you in the rank of happy, and not of conquering nations. Separated as we are from the rest of Europe, our policy, as well as our interest, will make us carefully abstain from mixing in any

discussion foreign to the two people of Scandinavia; but my duty and your dignity will always be the rule of our conduct, and both one and the other prescribe to us never to permit interference in our internal affairs.

This nation, equally brave and jealous of its independence, has rewarded by a loyal return our cares and our devotion. It has justified and fulfilled our expectation. The numberless proofs which it has given of its affection, the gratitude which it expresses for the affection which we bear it, guarantee the stability of its destinies, and the inviolability of its oaths.

It is in sight of this monument, raised by public gratitude to the memory of the great monarch who died fighting for liberty of conscience, that we invite you, Gentlemen, to take before your Constitutional King the oaths dictated by our laws. The Sovereign, to whom Sweden owes the glory of having reassumed the pride of her ancient attitude among the nations, and who, by the adoption with which he honoured me, confirmed your choice, is at this moment looking down on you; from the height of those celestial regions where his great soul receives the recompense of its virtues, he will approve this majestic ceremony. At the very time that you pronounce this oath, my

heart will repeat that which I have already taken before the Almighty and before you. Would that from this throne, to which you have raised me, I could this moment see all the Swedes, now my children, assembled, and make them hear these words which are the expression of what I indeed feel. "If the title of your King is precious to me, it is because it enables me to occupy myself more particularly for you and your happiness. This is my dearest, my only ambition; it will inspire all my thoughts, it will direct all my actions, and your love shall be my recompense."

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE CLOSE OF THE DIET, JULY 21, 1818.

Gentlemen,

During the eight months that you have been assembled round the throne, I have constantly, and with the most lively interest, followed your deliberations. If some delays have retarded your progress, observing men have been aware that they were caused as much by the difficulty

and importance of the objects which you had to discuss, as by the defects of our social organization. But these delays are not lost for the future and for experience. Let us hope that future diets will profit by them, by giving to their deliberations, and to the progress of administration, the union, the activity, and the perfection which are wanting.

During the course of this session, the people and its representatives have developed great public spirit, and I have the satisfaction of observing on your separation, that you are all convinced, that a nation which owes its political eminence to a justly acquired glory, and to laws which consecrate the origin and the true legitimacy of its rights, can only forfeit that eminence by its dishonour or its destruction. Generations and empires advance in succession and disappear, but the principles of eternal truth are secure from time and from circumstance. If prejudices would combat or would stifle them, such a struggle can only ultimately serve to make their triumph the more glorious.

The union with Norway is strengthened daily. The force of events, the respect for oaths, and mutual interests, warrant its stability and its continuance. Passion everywhere subsides, for people are determined to be tran-

quil, and governed by the empire of the laws. Reason tells them that the continuance of their liberty and independence is founded on an immutable and constitutional confidence between the two nations. I thank you, Gentlemen, for having given to the Norwegian people a new pledge of the constancy of your sentiments towards them. The law which you have adopted, without discussion, relative to the respect due to their rights and their institutions, is an irrefragable proof that you have no other will, no other desire, than to maintain the political union between the two nations of this Peninsula.

Since you have been assembled, two events, which must be known to you, have given new strength to those principles which serve as the basis of the compact which unites Scandinavia to its Constitutional King. A great monarch, supported by the ægis of his power, has restored a country to a people as interesting by their misfortunes, as renowned for their ancient glory. The Sovereign of one of the important States of the Germanic Confederation, has just presented to his country a representative constitution. These benefits, disseminated among nations, are a distinguished homage paid to those people who, while investing their kings

with a power founded in confidence, have not, however, abandoned to chance, and to the caprice of the future, the prosperity, the honour, and the existence of their descendants.

Gentlemen, before I separate from you, my heart feels a desire to pour forth anew its lamentations over the loss of that beloved King, who was your father, and who honoured me with the name of his son and of his friend. His noble spirit will never cease to inspire me, it will serve as my guide in all my actions. I will think on what he has done, on what he would yet have done had Providence prolonged his days. His loss has been followed by another which ought sensibly to affect us. His consort only survived him a few months. During the whole period of their long union, she constantly employed herself in ministering to the happiness of her august spouse. On this account her memory should be equally dear to us; on me that memory has still another claim, from my recollection of the sentiments of love and tenderness which she entertained for me.

Gentlemen of the Order of Nobility,

Your titles supply you with glorious reminiscences, and brilliant examples. You will march at the head of your countrymen for

the defence of the State, if it stand in need of your courage and your patriotism, and if it ask for your counsels, you will give them with frankness and with loyalty.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Clergy,

You will guide your brethren in the exercise of the Christian virtues, the principal foundations of social order and happiness of all. God will inspire you with the sentiments which must insure the triumph of your religious efforts. The knowledge of the age is perpetually enlarging the empire of toleration, and the Scandinavian Clergy has been among the first to set an example.

Gentlemen, Members of the Burgesses,

The general peace gives a fresh activity to your industry and your commercial relations, it must increase the resources of the State. By always making your operations advance in unison with the national prosperity, you will give a permanent stability to your fortunes, and by your patriotic sentiments you will ensure for yourselves the noblest recompense to which a good citizen can aspire.

Good and honourable Members of the Order of Peasants.

May Heaven bless the toilsome labours of the agriculturist, and may the order, which you represent, live in happiness and independence under the ægis of the laws. Reckon on the paternal and the tender interest of your King. Preserve that courage, that loyalty, and that energy which distinguished your fathers, and Sweden will ever contain within her boundaries men free and worthy of their freedom.

Farewell, Gentlemen! return to your families, enjoy there all the happiness which your King can desire for good citizens. You know my wishes for the prosperity of the country; but that prosperity will never be durable until our circulating medium shall have recovered its value. It is this value which is the principal support of our social system; it is this which, being maintained with discretion and prudence, enriches the States, while it ameliorates the condition of all classes of citizens. You know, then, all that the country requires of us, and what are the useful and important resolutions which remain for us to take. No exertion will appear to me too great to obtain this grand result; I shall never be happy until it is attained,

and for that end I shall not hesitate, if circumstances require it, to assemble around me the national representatives, even before the period fixed by the constitution.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE FOUR ORDERS OF THE KINGDOM, ON THEIR COMING TO TAKE LEAVE, JULY 21, 1818.

To the Order of the Nobility.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the sentiments which you have just expressed for me. You know mine, and it is always agreeable to me to renew the assurance of them to you. It is by this reciprocity of devotion and affection between the Prince and the subject, that States prosper and become firmly established. I can without fear join my conviction to yours, on the good which we have attempted to effect, and posterity will judge of the merit of my efforts.

Adieu, Gentlemen; you are about to return to your homes, thither the heart of your King will follow you. You will, I am confident, make it your duty always to set an example

of love for the country, and respect for the laws.

To the Order of the Clergy.

Gentlemen, The duties of citizens, which you have been performing, are closely connected with the doctrine, the holy truths of which you preach. In proportion as the nation shall reap the fruits of your labours, its gratitude will be your portion. By opening to the view of your hearers the consolatory prospect of a future existence, you at the same time strengthen that virtue which, next to God, has for its first object the King and the Country. The people entrusted to your charge await the assistance of your knowledge. Continue to edify and instruct them by your examples and your lessons; inspire them with love for the public good, and respect for the laws. These sentiments elevate and consolidate states; they fortify the soul, they dispose it towards all that is useful and all that is sublime.

I recommend, Gentlemen, to your prayers my Son and the two people of Scandinavia.

To the Order of Burgesses.

I thank you for the sentiments which you have expressed for me. The resolutions of the

Diet which has closed its sittings, must have considerable influence on the public prosperity; they must re-establish that order and that confidence in your relations, which distressing circumstances had for a short time disordered.

You are now about to resume your labours, from which you have been taken for eight months. Continue to do honour to the order of which you have been the representatives. The productions of Sweden offer a noble career to your enterprises; to encourage them, form useful establishments; take advantage of the improvements already introduced. Commerce and industry will then be a source of abundance and prosperity for you and the whole country.

Adieu, Gentlemen: I rely on the devotion of your order, as you may likewise reckon on my affection and my protection.

To the Order of Peasants.

Good and loyal Peasants, It is with a sincere satisfaction that I receive these fresh assurances of your love. You cannot doubt my sentiments towards you. The proofs which I have already given you of them should serve to you as a pledge for the future. Inheritor as I am of the crown of my father, as well as of his paternal tenderness towards you, you have the right

to expect every thing from me, and I the right of requiring every thing of you for the country. Carry back to your dwellings the satisfaction of having well fulfilled your duty, and be persuaded that your King desires no other recompense than the love of his people. I renew to you the assurance of my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE NOBILITY, WHO REPLACED THE BATON OF MARSHAL OF THE DIET IN THE HANDS OF HIS MAJESTY, JULY 21, 1818.

The baton of Marshal of the Diet which you return to me, has been wielded in a manner alike honourable to the first order of the kingdom, and to him who has guided their deliberations.

Tell the Marshal for me, that he has entirely justified the confidence which I reposed in his merit, and that this merit determined his selection for that distinguished office, which he quits to-day. To give additional weight to my opinion, I have but to appeal to that which

the members of the nobility entertain of him. The citizen, who in the exercise of important duties, has only the welfare of his country in view, who joins to this a firm resolution, and takes honour for his guide, seldom misses the noble end to which he aspires. May the present Diet fulfil the wishes of the country; and neither your order, Gentlemen, nor he who has presided at its deliberations, will be the last to reap the glory of it.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE NORWEGIAN STORTHING, AUGUST 12, 1818.

Gentlemen,

I receive with satisfaction the assurance of the sentiments you have expressed towards me; they are the reward for the attachment which I bear for the Norwegian nation.

I have prolonged your sessions long beyond the period fixed by the laws, in order that you might be able to make yourselves masters of the general state and progress of affairs, and

that becoming better acquainted with them, you might feel how frequently governments are stopped by obstacles, which retard their operations, without any ground for accusing the purity of their intentions. Distrust and suspicions lead to hesitation and wavering, always dangerous, since they never exist but at the expense of the happiness of the people ; for to be happy a people must enjoy tranquillity.

One of your legislators has very wisely remarked to me, speaking of the political situation of Norway, that "nations also have their infancy as well as men." The age of maturity ought to be the object of our wishes, and to arrive at it we must have calmness and confidence. Thus only can we succeed in cementing that concord which is so necessary to the Scandinavian peninsula. Once united, she incloses in her interior all the elements of a lasting prosperity, and this prosperity must render her invincible.

If the burthens of the nation have been heavy, she has laid them on herself. Time and experience will teach the means of simplifying the administration. Its progress will then be more easy, and thence the relieved people will yield to all that fulness of confi-

dence which they ought to repose in their representatives. Some sacrifices will perhaps be necessary; I and my Son will be the first to set the example, and it will cost us nothing to contribute to the happiness of the Norwegian people.

Adieu, Gentlemen: rely always on my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE NORWEGIAN STORTHING, ON THEIR TAKING LEAVE, AUG. 24, 1818.

Gentlemen,

I could have heartily wished to be able, during the ceremony of my coronation, to surround myself with the whole of the national representatives. I am obliged to sacrifice this desire to the importance of the decisions which remain to be made, since they have the equal division of the public burthens for their object. On parting from you, I carry with me the agreeable conviction that your assembly is animated with a love for the public good; this

conduct will always earn my confidence. It is by a close connexion between the national representatives and the Prince, that the people prosper, that their rights are preserved, their liberty maintained, and their name respected abroad.

I will repeat with fervour before God the oath which I have taken to you to govern the kingdom according to its constitution and its laws; I will pray Providence to grant me the wisdom and the strength which directed the actions of those great kings of whom you have just spoken, and whose memory has been transmitted to us in the annals of the North.

Adieu, Gentlemen: I renew to you the expression of my royal favour, and I pray Heaven to direct your labours, and to take you under its Divine protection.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE DEPUTATION OF THE NORWEGIAN STORTHING, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS MAJESTY'S CORONATION, AT DRONTHEIM, SEPT. 6, 1818.

Gentlemen,

I receive with peculiar satisfaction the fresh assurance of devotion and fidelity which the Storthing of the kingdom of Norway expresses through your medium to me.

Animated by the most lively zeal for the welfare of the Norwegian people, I must feel a double happiness at learning that the Storthing justly appreciates my efforts. The proofs of truly filial affection which all classes of citizens have testified towards me during the course of my journey to Drontheim, those which I have received in the two capitals which I have visited, strengthen in my soul the sentiments which I have vowed for the nation, and inspire me at the same time with an unalterable desire to repay with a paternal kindness the noble and touching confidence of the people.

The religious and solemn act of the Coronation, far from diminishing one tittle of the rights and prerogatives of the nation, accustoms them to regard the monarch as the defender of their rights. It consecrates him, who, invested

with the supreme and hereditary magistracy, maintains the sacred deposit of the laws of the country, and makes them respected by all, without distinction of rank or person.

The people, who, the first, gave me their confidence, who called me to defend and protect them, this people, who have so many claims on my love, share in all my sentiments for the Norwegian nation ; they desire the tranquillity and the happiness of their new brethren, the increase of their commerce and their industry, and they will esteem themselves happy if they can contribute to that great result. Be the interpreters to the Norwegian people of this true attachment and this sincere friendship.

Repeat to the Storthing the wishes which I form, that Heaven may bless the results of their labours ; and add, with the assurance of my Royal favour, that the choice which it has made of you to assist at the ceremony of the coronation, is very pleasing to my feelings.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE STATES-GENERAL OF SWEDEN, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CORONATION OF HIS MAJESTY AT DRONTHEIM, SEPT. 6, 1818.

Gentlemen,

The mission on which you are sent on the part of the States-General of Sweden, is a new proof of their attachment to me and to the Norwegian people: these sentiments for me have been expressed on various occasions, and I always receive them with new pleasure.

Chosen by the Swedish people to govern them according to their constitution and their laws, I have exerted all my efforts to fulfil the obligations which such a confidence imposed on me. Providence has deigned to guide and to support me. It has united two nations alike proud of their ancient glory, and alike jealous of maintaining their independence.

In Sweden, as in Norway, I neither desire to reign, nor will I, except according to the laws. My first ambition is that of maintaining the constitutional rights of the two people. It is under the ægis of the laws, protectors of the liberty of the individual, and of the right of property, that nations prosper and are firmly established. Already Sweden feels their happy

influence, and your King will ever consider himself sufficiently rewarded by the continuance of those sentiments which you have hitherto never ceased to express towards him.

The glory of conquerors may die away, but that of men who defend the liberty of nations is handed down from age to age; the remembrance which you preserve of the great King who defended your liberty, is a religious homage paid to his memory, and this homage is as honourable to the nation who proffers it, as to the Prince to whom it is rendered.

The sentiments of affection which I have vowed to the Swedish people and their representative are well known to you, and these sentiments I personally entertain for each of you.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE GRAND GOVERNOR, ACCOMPANIED BY THE MAGISTRATES AND THE ELDERS OF THE CITY OF STOCKHOLM, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS MAJESTY'S RETURN TO THE CAPITAL, SEPT. 22, 1818.

Sir,

The magistrates and the burgesses of Stockholm have, since my arrival in Sweden, given

such numerous marks of their attachment to my person, and their zeal for the public good, that nothing which evinces a noble and persevering character could astonish me on their part. They have accustomed me to reckon on their devotion to myself and to my Son, and upon their unchanging sentiments for the good of the country. The new proof, which I receive of it on this occasion, penetrates me with the deepest emotion. I see assembled around me nearly the whole of the inhabitants of the capital. The homage with which I am surrounded, the blessings which meet my ears, and above all, the joy which sparkles in every eye, fill me with a lively regret that it has not been in my power to do more for the nation. My first wishes are always for Sweden, and I pray Heaven to fulfil them. Assure the magistrates and the inhabitants of Stockholm, Sir, that a real attachment and a deeply-felt gratitude will always bind me to them.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE PROVINCE OF MALMÖHUS, PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNOR AT RAMLÖSA, JULY 5, 1819.

Gentlemen,

I receive with satisfaction the assurance of your sentiments; those which I have vowed to you are as true as they are lasting. This province, interesting as it is for the richness of its soil and the industry of its inhabitants, is doubly so for me, since, when I gave myself to the wishes of the nation which had called me, it was here that I received the first testimonies of its attachment.

Your gratitude is pleasing to me. It was my duty to watch over your prosperity. But in exerting my efforts to attain this end, I do not think that I have acquitted myself of all that I owe to a nation which has given me so striking a proof of its confidence. Gratitude is a sentiment necessary to my existence, and I shall ever delight to recall the remembrance of that which I have pledged to you.

Let us give thanks to Providence, who has deigned to crown the labours which I have undertaken for your happiness; let us also thank

God that the terrors of a bad harvest have disappeared; the last reports are re-assuring, and we have reason to hope that in some places we may find abundance, and in all a sufficiency.

Commerce resumes its activity, and all the branches of national industry have made within a few years a rapid progress. The financial crises which have taken place in other countries, the great failures which have happened in the first commercial cities, have affected our course of exchange; but the measures taken to re-establish the credit of our circulating medium, must gradually bring about the results which we anticipate from them.

But of what avail would all these advantages be, without that independence which is the first aim of all nations? It is towards this great end that I have directed my most unceasing efforts. It is for that purpose that I have employed myself in forming an army animated by the love of their country. I glory in the cares which I have bestowed on the well-being of your defenders, and in the strict and paternal discipline which I have introduced among them. You have been able yourselves, Gentlemen, to see and judge of a part of this army. Every thing announces that Heaven will, in its infinite goodness, grant us the benefits of a long

peace; but if the necessity of supporting the honour and independence of the State were to call forth our warriors, who, Gentlemen, can share more largely than myself in the honourable opinion which you have conceived of them?

In nominating my Son Commander-in-chief in Scania, I wished to give you a new pledge of my affection. I know that he shares in the sentiments which I feel for you, and I am sure of your sentiments in his favour.

Adieu, Gentlemen: tell your fellow-citizens that they will ever find in me a tender father, who has no wish but for their happiness. Rely on all occasions on my affection, as well for yourselves as for the inhabitants of the province which you represent.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE ACADEMY OF LUND, AT RAMLÖSA, JULY 5, 1819.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for the sentiments which you have expressed towards me in the name of

the Caroline Academy. I have often had reports made to me of its labours, and I have seen with pleasure that they were always worthy of its ancient reputation.

You do me justice in relying on my protection. Princes are above all others bound to protect Literature and Science; for if they are happy enough to distinguish themselves by some useful labours, it is Literature and Science which hand down their honour to posterity.

Gentlemen, continue your exertions for the education of the youth entrusted to your care, and you will deserve well of your country: thereby, too, you will acquire claims to my gratitude, since you will concur in spreading information equally useful to the warrior, the statesman, and to all classes of citizens.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE PROVINCE OF DALECARLIA, AT FALUN, SEPT. 14, 1819.

Gentlemen,

The sentiments you testify towards me had already reached me. I have long projected this

visit to your province, so celebrated by the recollections of history, and so interesting by the activity of its inhabitants. You know yourselves the obstacles which have retarded the execution of this plan. I congratulate myself on having made this journey in a year when Nature has been so bountiful. Our geographical position, peace with foreign countries, guaranteed by solemn treaties, and tranquillity at home, now permit us to devote our efforts to the advancement of all branches of industry. This happy situation may rouse jealousy, and perhaps even envy; for enemies, I do not believe that we have any. But if any one were to attempt to trouble the repose which we enjoy, then your constitutional and lawful King, doubly legitimated by the election and the unanimous suffrages of a free people, and by the adoption of the virtuous Charles XIII. would not address himself in vain to your patriotic devotion, to call you to defend the honour, the liberty, and the independence of the nation.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF DALECARLIAN PEASANTS, AT MORA, SEPT. 19, 1819.

Good and loyal Peasants,

After a long train of misfortunes and severe losses, the nation, through the medium of its faithful and loyal representatives, called me to defend it, and to maintain its constitution and its laws. I came to a country of freemen; I rejoiced to see the Swedish people worthy to appreciate this noble title. Providence has deigned to guide me, and has blessed my labours by enabling us to cultivate our fields in peace. Never lose sight of this benefit, let the remembrance of it remain engraven in your hearts; let it never be effaced. Continue to serve God, to respect the laws, to obey your magistrates, and you will resemble your ancestors, who, from the depths of their valleys, made liberty burst forth into every part of Sweden.

I receive with satisfaction the expressions of your gratitude and your fidelity. You know that I love you with all the affection and tenderness of a father, and my Son partakes of my sentiments.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE PROVINCE OF GEFLEBORG, AT GEFLE, SEPT. 25, 1819.

Gentlemen,

On entering your territory, I experienced a sweet enjoyment, that of seeing the people raise their vows to Heaven for my happiness and for that of my Son. These testimonies of devotion and love form our principal glory. Happy the princes who can inspire such sentiments.

A citizen on the throne, I have devoted myself to maintain the law, and thus to preserve us from the evils which an ill-regulated liberty produces. In our transactions with foreign nations, I have sustained the national dignity, and the public spirit has seconded my efforts. Seas and vast deserts are our boundaries, we can, therefore, with security, employ ourselves in perfecting our internal organization; and by relying on ourselves, we shall preserve the blessings most precious to men, liberty, and a country. The rapid advances of industry, and the increase of our commerce, will augment our prosperity; the constant union between the government and the nation insures to this

Peninsula all the advantages which civilized states can desire.

I receive with a peculiar satisfaction the expression of gratitude which you have offered me in the name of the inhabitants of the province. After many years of scarcity, Heaven has blessed their labours; the successes obtained this year over a rugged soil encourage the hopes that the cultivator will hereafter find in the productions of the earth an indemnification proportionate to his outlays and his labours.

Adieu, Gentlemen: reckon always on my constant and paternal solicitude, and assure your fellow-citizens of the extent of my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE WORKS OF THE CANAL OF SÖDERTELGE, ON THE OCCASION OF ITS OPENING, OCT. 7, 1819.

Gentlemen,

The opening of the Södertelge canal, by establishing the communication between the

Baltic and a lake which bathes so many fertile provinces, is a monument which will attest to our descendants the courage and the heroic firmness of the Swedish nation. The impartial historian will tell, that Sweden, at the moment of losing some of her fairest provinces, and in the most painful and the most difficult circumstances, did not despair of preserving the primitive soil of the mother country. Supported by the King, Charles XIII. whom the State had entrusted with its defence, she dared even to conceive from the first year of the glorious reign of that Prince, the design of joining the two seas.

Amid the agitations and the events of war, the labours were not discontinued: the general peace has afforded us the leisure and the means of completing one of these great enterprises, and of prosecuting the other. It is by increasing the public welfare, it is by perfecting what we have already so happily begun, by opening new sources of prosperity in the interior, and fresh outlets abroad, that a celebrated people replies to the enemies of its glory and of its political independence. Providence has visibly announced the protection which it has granted to this nation; it has fixed its boundaries in a time of peace, but it opens to it a vast career if

it be ever unjustly attacked. The only victories of which we are ambitious are those which we gain over the rugged soil which we cultivate; these are the only durable conquests, these are the conquests which the people appreciate when they are accompanied by the legislative power, and the guarantee of personal liberty.

I accede, Gentlemen, with pleasure to the two requests which you make me in the name of the shareholders of the canal. The zeal and the perseverance which you have exerted for the completion of this work deserve my sincere satisfaction. You know, Gentlemen, all my personal sentiments. When I choose on this occasion, for the purpose of giving you my solemn assurance of them, the anniversary of the birth of the late King, I am certain that you will partake of my recollections and my gratitude.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE FOUR ORDERS OF UPLAND, AT UPSALA, OCT. 18, 1819.

Gentlemen,

I receive with a lively satisfaction the assurance of the sentiments of gratitude which you have expressed to me in the name of the inhabitants of the province of Upland. The fairest recompense for a prince, the only one which can enable him to forget the cares and the troubles inseparable from his high calling, is the eagerness of the citizens to surround his person, even in the bosom of tranquillity and of public peace. It is consoling to humanity to find that gratitude, one of the noblest qualities implanted by the Creator in the soul of man, is not entirely banished from this age, so celebrated by the succession of important events, but which, at the same time, presents so many afflicting examples of a forgetfulness of the most eminent services. Let us thank Heaven, Gentlemen, for having preserved to us, in the midst of the frosts and rocks of the North, this virtue, the faithful companion of liberty; for having limited our ambition to form no other wish, to express no other desire, than to live

under the ægis of our protecting laws, and to offer to nations the picture of a family directing all its cares to the encouragement of its agriculture, and to the completion of the great works undertaken for its prosperity.

Doubtless, there yet remains much for us to do to strengthen our institutions; but judging of the future by the past, by yielding to the lessons of experience, and following the steady march of time, by cementing every day the reciprocal confidence which so happily unites the government and the subject, we may hope to consolidate the public fortune, and to preserve from every attempt the rights and the dignity of the nation. It is to this great end that I direct my efforts; and this great end the patriotism and the preseverance of the Swedes ensure.

Adieu, Gentlemen: be the faithful interpreters of my sentiments to your fellow-citizens, and always rely on my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, OCT. 18, 1819.

Gentlemen,

When at the close of 1810 you expressed to me for the first time your congratulations and your wishes, I told you that it was public education which ought chiefly to interest a nation friendly to liberty; that education, completing the work of Nature, matures the germs of which heroes, legislators, and great statesmen are formed; that it was education which directed the flight of youthful souls to all that is just, grand, and sublime. I begged you constantly to recall to the minds of your pupils, that Sweden already possessed its government and its laws, when a part of Europe was still plunged in barbarism. I was persuaded, that by retracing to them the virtues of their ancestors, you would inspire them with the noble ambition of maintaining the national independence.

I have now to congratulate you on the success which crowns your cares for the instruction of youth; and I think that I cannot give you a more striking proof of my confidence and my esteem, than by permitting my Son to pass his

time among you, when his duties do not require his presence elsewhere.

He already knows the obligations which the office of Chancellor of your University impose on him; he will collect on the very spot information as to its constitution and its statutes; and you will be able to point out to him the improvements of which it is capable, in order that he may be able to contribute by his exertions to their creation.

But this is not the only advantage which I have promised myself by the Crown-Prince of Sweden becoming the Chancellor of the University of Upsala. I think with you that all the young citizens, who fill your university, and towards whom I look as to the hope of the administration and of the public service, will find in the presence of their Chancellor new motives for courage and emulation; while on his side, my Son, who will thus become acquainted with them at that happy age when the passion for good is the predominant desire, will have more certain data for not calling to the different employments any but those who are the most worthy to fill them.

I hope, also, that he will derive from your discourses those true principles of public mo-

rality and patriotism which naturally emanate from our happy social organization. Morality has rules no less positive than science; it ought always to be illuminated by the torch of reason. The order and the stability of institutions should always go hand in hand with the respect for the rights of citizens and for the dignity of man. Your conversations with my Son will constantly communicate to him those important results of your learning, which, like the star of the north, guides the mariner in that sure course, beyond which there is nought but danger and shipwreck.

Believe me, Gentlemen, I shall always take a lively interest in the existence and the reputation of this Academy.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE MAGISTRATES AND THE BURGESSES OF UPSALA, OCT. 18, 1819.

Gentlemen,

I receive the expression of your sentiments to-day with the same satisfaction I felt when

the magistrates and burgesses of Upsala offered them to me eight years ago.

During this period, Providence has lavished on us numerous benefits. The union of the two Scandinavian nations, which for their own interests should never have been separated, allows us peaceably to employ ourselves in perfecting our interior industry, and gives us a political strength which promises the happiest results.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the regret and the tears which you give to the memory of the late King; it is the most certain and the most satisfactory manner to convince my heart of your love and your attachment for me.

Adieu, Gentlemen: rely on all occasions on my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FORGES, MAY 17, 1820.

Gentlemen,

I feel a sweet satisfaction if the assistance which I have afforded to a province, where the

manufacture of iron is so considerable, has been able to augment and favour your industry. Nature, when she refused us the precious metals with which she has enriched other countries, deposited in the bosom of our mountains treasures more analogous to our character; let us not accuse her of having treated us with rigour; contented with her gifts, let us endeavour to profit by them, and to render ourselves worthy of them, by our love for the soil which she has given us. According to the evidences which I have obtained, the riches which this soil covers are nearly inexhaustible; well employed, they may raise Sweden to an exalted degree of prosperity; but to attain this end we must not forget that real wealth consists in the price of labour and of produce: as long as their value is in proportion to the money in circulation, wealth is not artificial; it is real and permanent. It is this fixed value which should occupy your cares; on this depends not only your prosperity but also the advancement of a branch of industry which supports a considerable part of the population, and without which there would be no longer any balance in the state of your finances.

By directing my attention to a distant province which encloses beneath its ice and its

snow the rich treasures of nature, I wished to give a proof of my solicitude for the country. I do not conceal from myself the difficulties which will oppose this undertaking, but I trust that, guided by the counsels and the experience of men skilful in the art of working mines, I shall succeed in fertilizing and rendering useful to the kingdom a district which has long been abandoned to the most complete neglect.

I beseech Providence to bless your efforts, and to crown them with a happy success. Reckon always, Gentlemen, on my favour, and on the pleasure I shall feel on every occasion when I shall be able to afford you proofs of it.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY OF LUND, PRESENTED AT SKARHULT, AUGUST 25, 1820.

Gentlemen,

I have always regarded public instruction as an important object of the solicitude of princes. Ignorance makes men the slaves of their own passions, and tributary to those who wish to

enslave them. In proportion as a nation becomes enlightened, a patriotic zeal developes itself in its bosom, which is the guardian of its greatness and its independence. History proves to us by more than one example, that when conquerors have subjected the human intellect to oppressive regulations, they have brought real misfortunes upon the people. It is for you, Gentlemen, to disseminate knowledge throughout the country, and I feel a lively satisfaction in applauding your efforts to fulfil that noble task. In developing the intellectual faculties of youth, you begin by engraving in their hearts the precepts of our holy religion; and it is upon that solid basis that you establish the edifice of their education. All branches of human knowledge come within your sphere, but it is only by accompanying them with a deep sense of morality and of the public interest, that you will give them that brilliancy which beams afar. In cultivating the mind of your pupils, never lose sight of the grand object—that of forming their hearts to virtue. Repeat to them unceasingly, that if science and talents ensure them the admiration and respect of their fellow-citizens, it is by the qualities of the heart that they must earn their love and their esteem. You will, I am sure, continue thus to fulfil your noble call-

ing, and thereby to acquire honourable claims on the confidence and the gratitude of the country.

Reckon, Gentlemen, on my constant protection for your University, and on my peculiar favour for each of you individually.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE STATES-GENERAL AT THE BANK, FEB. 7, 1821,

Gentlemen,

I accept the three medals which you have offered me in the name of the States-General. The first, struck to perpetuate the memory of a beloved King, revives in my heart sorrowful recollections; but these sad impressions are softened by the satisfaction which I feel at seeing your homage to the memory of this good King, who only lived for the happiness of the Swedes, after having been twice the liberator of his country. The States-General, by placing my portrait by the side of that of the monarch who adopted me for his son, have acquired new

claims on my favour, and the delicacy of their resolution makes me feel all the value of it with double force. The sweetest consolation which kings can carry to the grave, is the certainty that their cares for the cause of humanity will not be forgotten.

The object of the second medal is as flattering to my Son, as it is delightful to my heart. The honourable testimonies with which the nation has been pleased to honour his youth, impose on him great obligations. I know his respect for his duties and his love for you, and I enjoy the happy persuasion that he will seek to fulfil them.

The event commemorated in the third medal, is one of the most important to be found in the annals of modern history. The religious reformation of Luther taught men that they were possessed of certain rights, and that liberty of conscience was one of the noblest gifts of the Creator.

I receive, in the name of the Queen, the medals which are intended for her; and I entreat you, Gentlemen, always to rely on the continuance of my favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING AT THE OPENING OF THE NORWEGIAN STORTHING, FEB. 8, 1821.

Representatives of the Nation,

Six years have passed away since the period when your King accepted the compact, which, by uniting you to a nation descended from the same ancestors as yourselves, insured your liberty, and placed you in the rank of independent people. The report which will be made you on the state of the kingdom, will enable you to appreciate the advantages of your present situation. No nation on the earth has established their rights and obtained their constitutional guarantee with fewer sacrifices than the Norwegian people. But to preserve such precious gifts of Providence, let us remember that no people deserve to be free, unless it learn to enjoy that freedom under the law. Let us not forget that many States have struggled for a long time against despotism, anarchy, and civil war; that others, after having braved all tempests, have been forced for the public interest to restrain and modify their rights, which the impetuosity of passion had abused.

By examining all the administrative measures

which have been adopted since the Storthing of 1818, you will be convinced of the paternal solicitude of your Government, and of the constant activity with which it watches over your happiness. Much, it is true, remains to be done. Our civil and criminal code is not completed, the balance and distinction of authorities are not clearly established; but the caution which I have used in all affairs where my Royal intervention was necessary, ought to fill you with the most perfect confidence.

The budget, and the satisfactory statement of the revenues of the kingdom, will give you the necessary information on your resources, and will furnish you with means of adopting measures necessary to meet the national duties. The liquidation with the Danish Government of the Dano-Norwegian debt is effected. If it had been necessary to fix the quota of Norway, according to the ninety-third article of the Constitution, and in proportion to the population, it would have been fixed at nearly a third of that debt; but the reasons which your Government has established, have diminished the quota much below that which was laid to the account of the country.

Providence has blessed our harvests. The rapid progress of our rural economy will, I

hope, shortly secure us from all hazard in future. Agriculture, manufactures, and trades, are the grand sources of the public wealth, sources which are ever inexhaustible to a sober and laborious people.

The commercial situation of Norway participates in the depression which exists all over the world. Let us hope that conjunctures will be more favourable; and in the mean time let us obviate by labour, economy, and prudence, the difficulties which this stagnation occasions.

The relations of peace and good understanding between the two kingdoms of the Scandinavian Peninsula and Foreign Powers, continue on the most friendly footing; and it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I can announce to you, that notwithstanding the disagreeable incident which took place at Bodöe, I have every reason to hope that our commercial relations will not suffer any injury from an event which presented itself under so unfavourable an aspect. The Government of Great Britain has shown upon this occasion a spirit of conciliation, of which I have fully felt the value, and our dignity requires that we should make a proper return. A power is not estimated by its mere strength, but by the stability of its institutions,

and the independence of its character. The aim of your King will always be to maintain that guarantee, which is indispensable to powers of the second order, and is the guardian of tranquillity among nations: his will can never be otherwise than that of the laws; his glory is inseparable from your liberty.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ON THEIR RETURNING THANKS FOR HIS SANCTION OF A NEW REGULATION, MARCH 3, 1821.

Gentlemen,

It is with satisfaction that I have given my sanction to the regulation, which you submitted to me. I have done it with the more readiness, because it is the fruit of the meditations of men celebrated for their talents and their learning, and whose names are the property of Europe. In making theory and experience the foundations of your labour, you have laid down rules which, while they extend the dominion

of Science and of Learning, enable us to judge of the progress of the human mind, and to regulate its developement.

In all governments, but more particularly in free states, the sovereign should be the patron, as he is the defender, of Science and Literature. By these means both the prince and the people may expect the establishment of those rights, the principles of which are implanted by Nature in the human breast.

Persist, Gentlemen, in the diffusion of knowledge; Knowledge is the inheritance of Reason, whose empire will one day banish those scourges which have so long ravaged the surface of our globe, and which have devastated by turns, without distinction, the fairest as well as the least fertile countries of Europe.

Universal peace, tranquillity, and the security of states, these are what nations desire, these are the blessings which they claim. Let us concur to make our country enjoy all these advantages, to which its position, and the character of its inhabitants entitle it, and we shall then have deserved well of our country.

Assure the Academy of my favour, and rely, Gentlemen, on the continuation of my sentiments.

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE OCCASION OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE ROYAL COURT FOR SCANIA AND BLEKING, MAY 24, 1821.

Of all the attributes which surround royalty, there is none which should be more flattering to a sovereign than the power of doing justice. It is the attribute most worthy of the elevated rank to which he is raised; it is that above all, of which I am the most proud. I feel, therefore, Gentlemen, a sweet satisfaction at this moment, when I have raised a new temple to Moral Virtue, and when I find assembled around me the ministers charged to interpret its decisions, and to render them respected.

What indeed is more precious than justice? It is one of the first wants of man, it is the bond and the soul of society, and the true foundation of public liberty. Where it reigns, every thing flourishes, every thing prospers, and its happy influence spreads everywhere Confidence and Peace.

In the origin of society, and in the infancy of nations, all power was in the hands of the chief. Those individuals, whose private interests were affected, found then no other support but in the arms which defended them

against the attacks of the enemy. It was for a long time also that the same hand wielded the sword of the warrior and the scales of the judge. But as civilization insensibly advanced, this concentration of power was found dangerous for all. Thenceforth, sovereigns, reserving to themselves the privilege of being the source of all protection, entrusted the administration of justice to persons distinguished for their integrity and learning. The judicial, being thus separated from the executive and the legislative power, became for nations an inestimable benefit, the pledge of the preservation of their rights.

In pursuance of this principle, different tribunals have been formed. In proportion as these tribunals are multiplied, the course of justice is accelerated, and becomes more certain. These reflections have determined me to erect a court for Scania and Bléking, provinces so interesting for their population, their riches, and the industry of their inhabitants. It is you, Gentlemen, whom I have chosen to form this august tribunal. Go, and fulfil your honourable functions: organs of the law, resemble it in its inflexibility, and by justifying the confidence of your King, deserve the esteem of those to whom you dispense justice.

A solemn alliance is from this moment established between you and the supreme chief of the national authority. This chief assures you of the intervention of his power, the very instant that your judgments, dictated by the book of the law, shall be disobeyed. Certain of this beneficial and salutary support, be the dread of the wicked and the refuge of the innocent.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE NORWEGIAN STORTHING, AT CHRISTIANIA, JULY 30, 1821.

Gentlemen,

I have heard with pleasure the expression of the sentiments which you have declared, in the name of the Norwegian nation, for me and for my Son. Those among you, who have the happiness to be fathers, will easily understand my emotions and my sensibility at the recital of the interest you have taken in the danger which he has past through, and of the prayers which you have offered to the Almighty for the re-

covery of his health. He will fulfil your hopes; he will be a citizen to respect the laws, and a soldier to defend them.

The discipline of camps, and the glory of the field of battle, have seductive attractions; but there is another glory, which in all well-regulated countries is not less eminent; it is that glory which a government that aspires only to perfect the organization of the State, derives from its success, a success obtained without convulsion or without violence.

Let us, Gentlemen, mutually support one another; let us openly communicate our thoughts, but let us never forget that the national representatives, who have attempted to domineer over the authority of the executive power, have occasioned schisms, the result of which has been but anarchy or despotism. Let us avoid these two great scourges, and fulfil the expectations of the nation. It forms no other wish than to be able to enjoy in peace a liberty which guarantees to it the exercise of its rights.

Never have the people of the North saluted a monarch devoid of energy with the title of Good; never have their armies marched with confidence under the banners of a feeble and timid prince.

Rest always assured, Gentlemen, that my happiness is inseparable from the prosperity of the Norwegian nation.

SPEECH OF THE KING AT THE CLOSE OF THE STORTHING, AUG. 21, 1821.

The political events which we have witnessed for this past year, must have convinced you, Gentlemen, of the constant attention which Governments have paid to the maintenance of order and tranquillity in Europe. Norway could not remain ignorant of it. In proportion as the privileges which she enjoys offer points of comparison, the use which her legislators would make of these privileges, must necessarily furnish subjects for a general observation.

If it be in the nature of constitutional governments to favour the developement of ideas, it is also the duty of enlightened men to prevent the dangers of an extravagant advancement. The past is far from us; let us profit

by it to direct our thoughts. It is only after a mature examination into my own duties and into the wants of the nation, that I have presented to you the different propositions for alterations in the act of the Constitution. I have been guided only by the desire of maintaining and consolidating the liberty which I obtained for the Norwegian people, this title to their gratitude being the dearest and the most lasting which I can desire.

I flatter myself that the public opinion, well directed, will appreciate my intentions, and I ought to be able to rely in this respect on the frank and loyal co-operation of the national representatives. Impress upon your fellow-citizens that liberty is only stable when the Government is strong, that there is no guarantee where the power is imperfectly balanced, and that a constitutional state, which desires to avoid convulsions, the consequences of which are incalculable, should throw all the superfluous preponderance on the side of a protecting government.

The resolution which you have taken for the payment of your ancient debt to Denmark, will operate favourably on the public credit. I am not ignorant of the difficulties which still remain for us to overcome; they proceed partly

from the stagnation of commerce, the activity of which would furnish such an useful support to the industry and the finances of Norway; but my constant solicitude for your welfare will increase with the urgency of the circumstances, and I hope that Providence will bless my efforts.

Proud of commanding a people who enjoy the noble right of publishing their thoughts and of boldly expressing their opinions, I shall respect courageous truth, while I repress licentiousness of language. True literature, an essential part of national glory, repels insult and calumny; the author, who has the feelings of a true citizen, should be the first to acknowledge that when duties are contemned his rights cease to exist.

I see with pleasure the time draw nigh when the zeal and the learning of those, to whom the important task of digesting a new code for the kingdom is entrusted, will remove all contradiction between the principles of your ancient laws, and the rights which you have acquired. This ambiguity is especially observable in the question on the responsibility of my counsellors of state. These officers are exposed in all constitutional countries to a freedom of remark; they require, at least, a guarantee that they

shall be judged according to fixed principles, and not by arbitrary or deceptive analogies. I propose to regulate the constitutional privileges of each counsellor of state, and I shall have laid before the next Storthing a project of a law on their responsibility, which will fix for the national representatives the amount of their prerogatives.

The political situation of the Scandinavian peninsula, with regard to the other States of Europe, leaves nothing to desire for the continuation of our amicable relations. It is for us to maintain these elements so important to the existence of every well organized society.

In declaring now, in conformity with the law, that the session of the ordinary Storthing for 1821 is concluded, I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of my sentiments and of my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE SWEDISH AND NORWEGIAN COUNCILS OF STATE, ON THE INAUGURATION OF THE STATUE OF THE LATE KING, CHARLES XIII., NOV. 5, 1821.

Gentlemen,

The sentiments which you have just expressed, are dear to me on more than one account; they show the perfect agreement of our affections and our thoughts; they prove to me that I had augured aright of the virtues of the Scandinavian people, when I thought that by this act of filial piety I should anticipate their intentions and fulfil their wishes.

These sentiments are genuine. Contemporaries have no cause to fear that posterity will disavow them: history will explain their motives; it will tell them, that after having acceded to the wishes of the nation, which by a glorious choice had called me to the succession of the throne, this good King adopted me for his son, and ever preserved towards me the tenderness of the best of fathers. The eagerness with which all classes of citizens assemble at the solemnity of this ceremony, is an authentic testimony of his benefactions, and of the remembrance which you preserve of them. Our descendants will rejoice to see, in this

statue, the portraiture of the Prince to whom two emancipated nations entrusted their political regeneration, of that citizen monarch, who repaired so many misfortunes, and showed himself so religious an observer of the laws.

Happy in having been the prop of his old age, my happiness is increased each time that I reflect on the projects which his generous soul conceived, and of which he has bequeathed to me the execution.

We have now for many years been reaping the fruits of what Charles XIII. did for his country; and the remembrance of his brilliant services will endure longer than the monument which I this day raise to his memory.

May this remembrance maintain among us, and perpetuate from age to age, the happy harmony, the manly courage, and the noble virtues which constitute the strength, the glory, and the prosperity of nations.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE KING AT THE ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE, JAN. 28, 1822.

Gentlemen,

On this solemn day, the anniversary of the institution of the Academy, and on which we are going to open the new building which is appropriated to it, I come among you, to give you a particular proof of my solicitude. I have followed your labours and their results. The fruits of your exertions are not immediately felt, but the improvements which are matured by time are always the safest and the most lasting. Continue, Gentlemen, to communicate the assistance of science and learning to the cultivator; and while we enlighten them, let us respect this laborious class, which constitutes the real strength of the State. Remember that it is the source of all that is grand, or noble, or exalted in this world, and that the men, whom Providence has permitted to be placed by nations on the highest summit of power, draw their origin from this common cradle of the human race.

Our harvests have been blest. If, in traversing Sweden, I have seen barren districts, I have likewise seen immense plains covered with

the richest harvests, which might vie with the most fertile countries in Europe. Let us thank Heaven for the advantages which it has given us; but let us consider how well to employ this mass of production, that abundance may not become a source of internal embarrassment. Let us open markets for the cultivator, and let us use all our endeavours, that in the midst of the richest and most fertile country, towns may consume the fruit of the labour of the agriculturist, may become the centre of industry, and may increase still farther, by their manufactories, the national wealth. It is thus that, by courage and perseverance, virtues so essential to nations who desire to raise themselves to a high degree of internal strength and foreign consideration, we shall acquire our prosperity and insure our independence.

The happy effects of this perseverance already manifest themselves. The reports rendered of the increase of the population prove that, since the union of the two Scandinavian kingdoms, it has increased by 140,000 souls in Sweden, and about 60,000 in Norway. This increase is doubtless equivalent to the acquisition of a province, which would have cost us large sums of treasure, and a great effusion of blood.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE CLERGY AND THE MAGISTRATES OF NORRKÖPING, JUNE 18, 1822.

Gentlemen,

I have felt severely the misfortune which has befallen your town. I recall with gratitude and with emotion the numerous marks of devotion and fidelity which its population has given me. I come to offer you consolation as a man, and as King to bring you assistance. I see with satisfaction that you have recovered from that first consternation, the natural consequence of a great disaster. Continue to look up to Providence, and hope every thing from its infinite goodness. It has been pleased to try you on this occasion, but it has only smitten you with a passing evil. Activity, sobriety, industry, and labour, will assist you in repairing your losses, and in replacing the town of Norrköping in that rank which it held but a short time since. The State is rich, it will succour you; and by prudently employing these resources, the days of prosperity and ease will return, which this town now mourns. Rely always, Gentlemen, on my favour, and on my eagerness to supply your wants.

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE OPENING OF THE STORTHING OF NORWAY, SEPT. 20, 1822.

It is always with a fresh satisfaction that I address the representatives of the people whom Providence has confided to my care. The happiness which I find in multiplying the proofs of my disposition in their favour, proceeds from a well-founded conviction, that they are in conformity with equity and sound reason, since they tend to consolidate the empire of the laws, freely agreed to, and firmly executed. You know, Gentlemen, by what heroic efforts, and what painful sacrifices, institutions are obtained or acquired by nations; you are aware of the difficulties they meet with in consolidating them. More happy than others, you have received these institutions as a gift from Providence. You ought, therefore, to feel the necessity of labouring, with a prudent hand, to root out from them all that is contrary to their execution, and to add to them all that they require for their stability. It is to ensure this stability in the exercise of your rights, that I have convened you, in order to confer on a method of fulfilling, in a manner independent

of accidental conjunctures, the engagements which have only been a natural consequence of the liberty which Norway enjoys as a state.

The resources which you have placed at my disposal to pay the debt owed by Norway to Denmark, are positive, and I still think, that if they could be realized, they would be sufficient.

Not less confident in your intentions than in my own, I shall order the means the most proper to obtain this desirable result, without augmenting the public burthens, to be laid before you immediately.

Your patriotism and my solicitude strengthen my belief that I shall find no other rivalry among you, than that of vying in your respect and support of the national honour.

Our united flag has obtained new commercial advantages in the Black Sea, and our relations of good understanding with all Powers continue on the most amicable footing.

I assure the Storthing of the continuation of my royal favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE OPENING OF THE CANAL OF GOTHA, AT SJÖTORP, SEPT. 23 1822.

Gentlemen,

When the Swedish people, twelve years since, called me to defend their rights, I did not hesitate to accept that honourable choice, for I knew their energy, and I felt that a nation which had withstood so many vicissitudes, was destined to preserve its station among independent monarchies. Enemies without, and internal agitations, still threatened to impose on it the fetters of slavery, when it dared to form a project worthy of the most celebrated people, that of joining the two seas, separated by the whole extent of the kingdom. Many of our great Kings had before formed this vast project. The great Gustavus Adolphus would have executed it, if death had not struck him, while fighting on a foreign land for liberty of conscience. Happier than him, I have realized the plan which he had conceived, that of reuniting two people, who were designed by Nature to be eternal friends. It remained for me to effect the junction of the seas which bathe our coasts, and I have the satisfaction to-day of

seeing this vast enterprise in a great measure terminated.

The advantages which must result from this new communication are evident. Years must certainly elapse before they can be felt, but as certainly the time will arrive when these advantages cannot be mistaken. The rising generation will bless the courage of those men who conceived this sublime project, and the perseverance of those who have executed it will find a place in our history.

It is with a lively pleasure that I hear the praises which you give to the soldiers who have been employed on the Gotha canal. I know from experience their bravery, and their love of discipline; it is agreeable to me to hear that they display the same zeal in those peaceable works which have for their end the prosperity of the interior.

I appreciate the skill and the activity of the generals, the officers, and of all the functionaries who have contributed to the execution of this noble work. I have often had occasion in my journies to do them this justice, and I beg you to express to them my entire satisfaction.

I thank you all, Gentlemen, for the constant attention which you have paid to this glorious monument of my reign; and you, Count de

Platen, receive my congratulations on the zeal, the energy, and the talents of which you have given so many proofs.

The happy result which we celebrate to-day, is principally owing to the liberality with which the States-General have furnished the sums necessary for the continuation of the works. Wishing to perpetuate the remembrance of these generous sacrifices, I give on this solemn occasion to the first lock the name of "Constitution," and to the four which succeed it, those of the four orders of the kingdom.

SPEECH OF THE KING, ADDRESSED TO THE SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURE OF THE PROVINCE OF SKARABORG, AT HAJSTORP, SEPT. 24, 1822.

Gentlemen,

When nations form themselves, and when they establish for the base of their social compact the liberty of the individual and the right of property, they feel the necessity of insuring that liberty by augmenting their productions,

by increasing their industry, and by creating a defensive system. Sweden, dependent on her neighbours in years of scarcity, was obliged to direct her attention to the cultivation of her soil. This wise precaution has given rise in most of the provinces to societies of rural economy, and the solicitude of the Government has founded the Academy of Agriculture in the capital, to serve as a central point. The productive soil of the province of Skaraborg has induced its inhabitants to put in practice foreign enquiries and discoveries. Success each day crowns their efforts, and if, in the late productive years, the moderate price of corn has diminished the profit on which the agriculturist had reckoned, this loss has been compensated by the plenteousness of the harvests. I then remembered that the cultivator in barren years had been compelled to have recourse to the public magazines. These loans, valued at the price of corn at the time when they were contracted, would have weighed heavily on him, if he had not been allowed to repay them in the article; and the Government hastened to afford to its debtors all the facilities compatible with the laws and its own duties.

The junction of the seas, by facilitating communication, will have the most happy effects.

You will find in plentiful years a more certain outlet for the productions of your soil, and in years of scarcity the Government will be able to give you readier assistance. The province of Skaraborg, by its position between the two great lakes, will draw immediate advantages from it, which will operate in turn on all the branches of its industry.

Continue, Gentlemen, the useful labours which are the object of your Association. Rely always on the eagerness of the States-General to augment the national prosperity, and be assured that, united by my feelings and by my duty to the delegates of the people, I will continue to support with all my means and all my constitutional authority the measures which they shall take to consolidate your welfare.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE STORTHING OF NORWAY, WHO CAME IN A BODY TO PRESENT THEIR HOMAGE TO HIS MAJESTY, ON HIS ARRIVAL AT CHRISTIANIA, OCT. 1, 1822.

Gentlemen,

I receive with heartfelt pleasure the assurances of your attachment, for I know that they

are sincere. Organs of the sentiments of the nation, you have expressed what it has so often proved to me. Never doubt my gratitude; the care which I have taken of your welfare is a lively proof of it. My glory, my happiness, are intimately connected with those of the Norwegian people; and when, in the course of Nature, I shall have ceased to exist, my Son will continue the work which I have so happily begun, that of cementing the independence and the prosperity of Norway.

I am not ignorant of the inconvenience which you must feel on quitting your commercial, your agricultural labours, or whatever other branch of industry each of you may profess. But I never for a moment doubted your patriotism, or your eagerness to make personal sacrifices when the State required it, and I have always thought that, when necessity urges, the promptest remedies are those which should be preferred.

I have had the propositions laid before you, on the measures which I think advantageous in the present state of the finances of the kingdom. If, in the course of your discussions, your view of the question be different from mine, I shall respect your constitutional privileges, and you will not cause me the slightest displeasure

by frankly announcing your thoughts. I shall never conceive the idea, that a difference of opinions between us can have any other motive than that of true patriotism. I consider that it would be advantageous for Norway, to possess within itself the assistance which circumstances require, and to avoid as much as possible all foreign dependence. I am of opinion, that to effect this, we have but to make a prudent use of the effective resources which we possess. But if the commercial interest take alarm at the loans which the bank would raise on the State, if you fear that a new deterioration of the value of the paper currency will result from it, I abandon my idea. I am averse, it is true, to annual loans, which absorb the national property, but I willingly accede to the plan of borrowing a large sum to fulfil our engagements towards Denmark. We shall be able to raise it on beneficial terms, and I know that we have the means of satisfying the contractor in the space of thirty years. I do not wish to exercise any influence over your deliberations. My only desire is to fulfil my royal duty, and to pursue the dictates of my heart, by giving you my counsels as a friend and a father; and I fondly persuade myself that you will never misconceive the purity of my intentions.

I am sensible of the regret which you manifest that my Son does not accompany me on this journey. You may be convinced, Gentlemen, that he returns all the attachment you entertain for him. His absence will not be long; he will return to our peninsula towards the end of the following month. But before many days, I shall make a communication to you, relating to him, which will be agreeable to you.

I pray God, Gentlemen, to guide your labours, and I assure you all of my royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE STORTHING OF NORWAY, ANNOUNCING TO HIS MAJESTY THAT THE STORTHING HAD ACCEPTED THE ROYAL PROPOSITION ON THE MODE OF LIQUIDATING THE DEBT TO DENMARK, AT CHRISTIANIA, NOV. 11, 1822.

Gentlemen,

The address which you have just presented to me, proves that I had foretold aright the sentiments and the feeling of the representatives of the nation, by convening them around me in an extraordinary Storthing. This result of

your deliberations is extremely pleasing to me, and the people will successively reap from it all the advantages which they have a right to expect.

Continue, Gentlemen, to disseminate by your example and your discourse, constitutional principles among your fellow-citizens, and impress daily on them this truth, that, when the legislative authority and the executive power are not directed, by a mutual understanding, towards those great objects, the glory, the prosperity, and the independence of the nation, states, even the most powerful, and governed by these principles, may be exposed to real danger.

The literal and religious observance of the laws will always be my desire. I hope that future assemblies will present bodies not less enlightened than that which has gained so much honour in the present Storthing.

Assure the Storthing of my royal favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE CLOSE OF THE STORTHING OF NORWAY, NOV. 16, 1822.

Gentlemen,

The important business on which I summoned you to this Storthing extraordinary, being now concluded, I have great satisfaction in announcing to you, that I have the best founded hopes that the result of your deliberations will be of a nature to consolidate the prosperity of the kingdom. I do justice to the spirit of moderation and patriotism which has presided in your sittings. You have decided that the interests of individuals must yield to the interest of the mass, and that private fortunes cannot be insured until the public fortune is established on a solid foundation. You have recognized that immutable principle, that good faith is the ægis of the law, and the safeguard of liberty. After many ages under an absolute Monarchy, Norway has suddenly come under a Constitutional Government; in spite of that, you have avoided the dangers which the most civilized and most enlightened nations have not been able to escape, and you have maintained, with a religious reverence, the fundamental

act, by acknowledging that it is only with experience that we should proceed to alteration and to improvement.

In the progress of the social state, great difficulties arise. These difficulties are less in an unlimited monarchy, where the will of one rules all; where force is only accountable to force, the sovereign can restrain and repair every thing. But in a representative monarchy, where the king and each citizen have their duties and their rights fixed by the law, it is necessary to use great circumspection. If only one individual attempt to overstep the line of his rights, he runs a risk of compromising at once both his own and those of others.

You have seen fatal examples of the evils to which a state may be exposed, if its representatives are not guided by conviction, and the agreement of public opinion. You see, even now, in one of the most beautiful countries of Europe, a valorous nation, which has been fighting so many years for its liberty, but which, rent asunder by a discordance of feelings and wishes, sees no end to its misfortunes, spite of the most heroic efforts and the most painful sacrifices. A mutual confidence between the chief and his citizens, and a noble denial of all selfish views, and of private interest in favour

of the public good; these are the true means to make a state prosper, to render it flourishing in its interior, and respected abroad.

You, Gentlemen, have performed the conditions, and the State will reap the fruits of your patriotic efforts. You will enjoy in your own persons a sweet recompense, the favour of your King, the esteem and the gratitude of your fellow-citizens. I am happy to be able to bear witness publicly, that you have justified my hopes, and fulfilled the expectations of the country.

On declaring now, by virtue of the fiftieth section of the Constitution, that the session of this Storthing extraordinary is closed, I invite you, Gentlemen, to join me in returning thanks to Providence, which ceases not to shower its benefits upon us, and to watch over the Scandinavian Peninsula.

In tranquillity at home, at peace and on friendly terms with all nations, we can devote our exertions to the increase of the different branches of national industry, the primary and inexhaustible sources of the prosperity of states. When you return to your hearths, you will set your brethren the example of concord, of labour, and of a prudent economy; and, although the duties which you have so honourably performed for these two months

cease to-day, you will continue, I am sure, to be useful to your country.

Adieu, Gentlemen: I offer vows for the happiness of each of you, and I assure you all of my Royal favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING, JAN. 21, 1823.

To the Grand Deputation of the Nobility.

I receive with a fresh pleasure the expression of the sentiments of the Nobility: the first order of the State, I can reckon invariably on their fidelity to the laws, and their devotion to the country and to me. You know my feelings towards your order: they are always the same, and will ever continue unalterable.

To the Grand Deputation of the Clergy.

The sentiments which the Clergy express for me, acquire for me a new value. I rely on their enlightened zeal for the public good, and I pray Heaven to guide their labours.

I assure the order of the Clergy of the full extent of my Royal favour.

To the Grand Deputation of Burgesses.

I receive with satisfaction the assurance the Burgesses have given me of the continuance of their devotion and fidelity. My confidence in this order assures me already of the happy result of their deliberations. I repeat to the order of Burgesses the expression of my Royal favour.

To the Grand Deputation of Peasants.

Every opportunity that is afforded to me to give a proof of my protection to the order of Peasants, I seize with pleasure. Never forget the important advantages which you enjoy in the State: deliberate with calmness and tranquillity, and give your King that satisfaction which he has a right to expect from the order which you represent. Rely always on my sentiments and my Royal favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING ON THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL, JAN. 21, 1823.

Gentlemen,

For fourteen years, since Sweden gave herself a new Constitutional arrangement, this day is the first on which the representatives of the nation have met in ordinary Diet. Four years and a half have elapsed since the close of our last session. So long a period in the midst of internal peace, with a new constitution, adapted to ancient laws, and to still more ancient ordinances, is a rare example in the annals of the world. The events of our days furnish proofs of the misfortunes to which empires are exposed by revolutions. The fury of anarchy, the convulsive movements of democracy, and lastly, despotic oppression, these are the scourges from which few nations have been able to preserve themselves. They have been dispersed in Sweden by the celestial breath of Providence, and your constitution, digested in the midst of political storms, has been religiously maintained. Every good citizen will feel that the inestimable benefits of internal tranquillity and independence abroad, are the results of the attitude

of the Government, and of the regular course which it has followed. It is for you, Gentlemen, who represent one of the most virtuous nations on the earth, to aid me in preserving for that nation the blessings which it has hitherto enjoyed, and to which it is attached by the ties of the dearest interest and the fondest affection. It is for you also to acknowledge, that a state, governed by constitutional forms, cannot enjoy the protection which these forms afford, unless each individual remains within the limits which they prescribe.

The report which will be laid before you of the situation of the kingdom, will give you a just idea of the careful endeavours which the Government has used to introduce improvements, which the country already appreciates.

The secret committee which I intend to form, will be informed of the difficulties which I have had to surmount, and of the obstacles I have had the happiness of overcoming.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Nobility,

Your order was instituted for the defence of the State; it derives its origin from the services which your ancestors have rendered to their fellow-citizens. With their names, and the recollections of their virtues, they also bequeathed

to you their duties. Continue to bear for your motto: HONOUR—THE COUNTRY—and THE KING.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Clergy,

If it be the obligation of the Nobility to defend against all enemies the temples of our holy religion, the palace of the rich, and the cottage of the poor,—if the sacrifice of life is the least of their duties, your calling is to diffuse and to implant the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Ministers of a God of peace, preach concord and union, and direct men's minds to one common point—obedience to the Law and to its ministers.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Burgesses,

Make commerce and industry flourish; endeavour to give a value to our productions. In a free state, the honourable professions which you exercise are on an equality with all the advantages derived from success in arms, and the glory which attaches to them.

And you, good and loyal Peasants,

Ever glory in being the fostering fathers of the present generation, and of those which shall succeed it. Never look with disdain on that plough, which, whilst it attests your labours,

gives you a right to say with a noble satisfaction—"The strength of a state lies in the number of its agricultural population. The land which we till, supplies our fellow-citizens with their first wants; and the same arms which cultivate the soil, are likewise always ready to preserve it from foreign invasions."

Gentlemen,

The public security requires us to employ ourselves in giving to the nation laws in harmony with the Constitution which regulates the State. The governors and the governed equally merit our constant solicitude. The people desire to know their obligations and their rights in a clear and precise manner; they also wish their representatives and the Government to lend one another mutual support; and they expect from this union of strength, of free will, and of patriotism, their happiness and consequence; for the law of self-preservation is as imperiously implanted by nature in nations as in individuals.

Long consideration has convinced me that the kingly power should be distinct and separated from the judicial power, except in the case of the appeal to mercy. The Presidentship of the Supreme Tribunal, devolved on the

King by the Constitution, should cease; and the judicial power should thus be disengaged from the influence which the Sovereign may exercise over the highest court in the kingdom. A message on this point shall be presented to you, according to the forms of the Constitution.

The circulating medium constitutes the fortune of the citizens, since it represents the value of immovable property, and of all produce. The keeping up its value should be one of the principal objects of the legislature: but beware, Gentlemen, of the dangers which result from too sudden innovations, and avoid losing all by wishing to recover too much. Experience, that sublime instructor of man, will guide you in the resolutions which you will take. As the Constitution does not give me any direct right of interference in the financial system of the kingdom, I must confine myself to wishes that your measures may be of such nature as to avert from this country the fatal effects which so many states have had to deplore.

The first wish of my heart, always connected with the interest of the country, will lead me constantly to diminish the public charges; nevertheless, the desire to preserve the stability

of your independence, a sentiment closely connected with your national existence, assures me that you will know how to distinguish all that is required by the present circumstances, from that which, at first view, might appear to you superfluous.

In the midst of abundance and the most profound peace, Providence has willed that we shall know that there is no happiness in this life without alloy. Two great conflagrations on the same day threatened the capital, and consumed two-thirds of the town of Norrköping. Scarcely a month since, the town of Boras was almost utterly destroyed by a similar event. I hastened to afford assistance to the victims of these disasters. The loss of money it is easy to repair, and I rely with confidence on your co-operation in the rebuilding of these towns, so essentially connected with the welfare of the neighbouring countries. The duties of sovereigns are so weighty, that you will, I am sure, remember that to relieve their suffering subjects, is a power which may compensate to them for the burthen of many others.

The works to join the Baltic with the lake Mälarn by the canal of Södertelje, were finished about the end of 1819. The commerce of the provinces of Upland, of Westmania, of Suder-

mania, and Nericia, must increase in consequence of this new communication.

The junction of the lakes of Wenern and Wettern, so ardently desired by the interior provinces of the kingdom, was finished last year. From the coasts of Smäland and Ostrogothia the navigation is open to the North Sea, and the works have been carried on from the Wettern to the Baltic. This great monument, begun at a period when Sweden was threatened with the loss of its very name, will attest, when going down to posterity, the bold conceptions of those men who extended their ideas even to the junction of the two seas.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the means which you have furnished me for the completion of the greater part of these works, and I hope that you will support me in continuing them. The results which they must bring about, are connected with the dignity of the nation, and the perseverance which distinguishes its character.

The compact of union concluded between Sweden and Norway is consolidated. The reciprocal good faith, with which the two nations recognise and respect their rights, guarantees the tranquillity of the peninsula, and its rapidly increasing prosperity.

The relations with Foreign Powers continue to be confidential and friendly. The system of my Government, purely defensive and pacific, cannot fail of maintaining the good intelligence which subsists between Scandinavia and the states of all ranks.

My Son has, with my authority, asked in marriage the Princess Joséphine de Leuchtenberg and d'Eichstedt, grand-daughter of the King of Bavaria. This sovereign has given his consent to the union. I could not resist the pleasure of communicating it to you, even before the arrival of the ratifications. This happy event, by fulfilling your wishes and my own, insures to the Scandinavian Peninsula that solidity which the love of its inhabitants for me, and for my Son, and our reciprocal sentiments, give it the right to expect.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of all my sentiments and of my Royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE STATES-GENERAL WHO CAME TO PRESENT THEIR ADDRESS OF CONGRATULATION, FEB. 18, 1823.

Gentlemen,

I receive your address, and the congratulations which it contains, with the feelings with which I shall be ever penetrated for all that bears the stamp and character of a true attachment and of a sincere gratitude.

The discussion which took place on the subject of the terms of this address, has given me a fresh proof of the spirit which animates the national representatives towards me and towards my Son. This rivalry among you would increase my affection for you, if the faculties of my soul, and my ardent wishes for the country, could acquire a greater intensity.

A representative government should bear its course between two extremes—despotism and licentiousness. The natural inclination of the human mind carries it towards these extremes; therefore is it so difficult to obtain the just mean, and to maintain it. We have arrived at that object. With us there is neither despotism nor licentiousness. Zeal and ardour for the cause of liberty are no doubt praiseworthy;

but when they are not restrained within just limits, the people lose, instead of acquiring the liberty which they love.

I am fully aware of the great difficulties which I have to surmount to maintain this equilibrium. They are increased when the course lies between ancient institutions and a new Constitution, between the laws and the customs which those institutions have consecrated, and the improvements which are required by the new compact. Guardian of this compact, I feel the necessity of directing both the influence of opinion and the force of habit. I respect that predilection, so powerful among men, for things which they have been taught from their childhood, and to which they sometimes remain as much attached as to their own property.

I pray Providence to assist us in preserving untouched the national honour, that blessing which, when once lost, is so difficult to recover. It is then that, as first magistrate and first citizen, I shall have obtained imprescriptible rights to the gratitude of a loyal and brave nation, which has called me to consecrate my services to its cause, and to support and raise the splendour of its name.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the love and the

devotion you manifest towards my Son and his future wife: I appreciate it as a King and a father. At the age to which I have attained, man is ordinarily near the end of his life; few years are probably reserved for me, but my last breath will invoke the blessing of the Most High on the Swedish people, and the Scandinavian Peninsula.

Assure the States of the continuance of my Royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO AN ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM TO HIS MAJESTY, MARCH 15, 1823, ON THE SUBJECT OF ANONYMOUS LETTERS, ASSERTING THAT CERTAIN FOREIGNERS HAD COME TO SWEDEN TO ASSASSINATE THE KING AND THE PRINCE ROYAL.

Gentlemen,

The horror which the States-General and all classes of citizens have spontaneously expressed at the first news of the plots which the Genius of Evil was framing against me and against my family, will amply indemnify me for the anxiety I may have felt on their account.

Organs of a loyal and faithful nation, I see you with emotion pressing around me;—not

that I believe I indeed run any danger; I disdain to suppose that there can be any truth in it. But this burst of your souls, true emblem of all that patriotism presents of the most imposing and solemn character, will demonstrate to the eyes of foreigners the completion of the inviolability of your rights, of the sanctity of your fundamental compact, and of the free and unanimous choice which was its consequence.

To maintain liberty, if it is to be maintained, the union of our wills and the continuation of all our energy is required.

Nations rarely prosper when the princes and the people are not united by mutual agreement and interest. The glory of the prince is reflected on the nation, as the prosperity of the nation is reflected on the prince. I have already proved to you that my happiness is centred in yours, and that I only breathe and live for the people. I am confident that I shall succeed in rendering it independent and respected abroad, if each citizen participate in my desires.

All inquiries authorized by our laws continue to be made. There remains to me, however, one hope, which is, that the odious project which has been conceived, did not originate in the bosom of a Swede.

I renew to the States-General the expression of my sentiments and of my Royal favour.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE MARSHAL OF THE DIET, AT THE HEAD OF A GRAND DEPUTATION OF THE FOUR ORDERS OF THE STATE, DEC. 4, 1823.

Gentlemen,

The wish just expressed by the States-General inspires me with a lively satisfaction. I should many months since have anticipated their wishes, by making the necessary orders for the coronation of the Queen my wife, if I had not been restrained by the thought that this solemnity, consecrated by ancient custom, came exclusively within the department of the grand State ceremonies. This conviction was sufficient to determine me to wait for the expression of the wishes of the States-General; and I receive it with the gratitude which each new proof of their devotion for my family inspires me. I acquiesce in their desire, and I will fix the day definitively.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of my sentiments, and of my Royal favour.

SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE, DEC. 18, 1823.

I wished, Gentlemen, to assemble you before the close of the Diet, to inform you that your duties are concluded, and to testify to you my satisfaction at the patriotic feelings which have dictated your opinions.

The result of late events in Europe proves the justness of the political views which I had developed to you. It is only by the moderation and prudence of the legislative assemblies, that representative governments can hope to preserve the prerogatives and the rights assigned to them in the fundamental laws of each state. It is this moderation alone that can preserve them from the breakers towards which their elevation has led many nations. Sharing, as I know you do, this conviction with me, I am certain that you will maintain the principles resulting from it, and that you will disseminate those feelings on your return to your homes.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of my Royal favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING TO THE STATES-GENERAL, ON THE CLOSE OF THE DIET, DEC. 22, 1823.

Gentlemen,

Although the fundamental charter only allows you to remain assembled four months, I felt bound to yield to your wishes, by permitting you to prolong your sittings seven months more. On the first political glance, there would perhaps appear cause for astonishment at the length of this session; but experience in business, and skilfulness in treating important affairs, often fail from the diversity of interests inherent in the social state of man. Circumstances exercise a peculiar sway beyond all calculation and all combination; and events, sometimes the effects of chance, or of some unforeseen cause, frustrate the efforts of the most consummate prudence. If you have not now fulfilled the expectations of every one, you have prepared for the future Diet, a facility of establishing the basis of a financial improvement, desired by all classes.

Liberty, in giving man the consciousness of his dignity, gives him strength and resignation

to support with fortitude the vicissitudes of life. But this liberty quickly disappears, when the Government is not invested with a sufficient extent of authority to preserve to the people what they have acquired.

You have witnessed the events which have afflicted the most flourishing countries in Europe. When States are troubled, it is the people at last which most suffers. The conviction of this should determine us never to lose sight of their welfare and tranquillity. The first of the blessings which they have the right to demand of us, is their internal repose; and to obtain that, their voice commands us to put in execution, without distinction, the laws which form their safeguard.

We feel the happy influence of a peninsular locality; if, however, the laws which govern us have not acquired the degree of perfection which we might desire, time alone can improve the system.

To effect these changes suddenly, would be to render problematical all the advantages of the present and all the bright hopes of the future. Nations have their peculiar character. By precipitating the natural progress of their genius, we should expose them to those cata-

strophes, of which the present day furnishes us irrefragable proofs.

I have followed the same system of circumspection in the application of our reciprocal duties, and I have steadily refused all partial interpretation of our fundamental laws. Desiring only to preserve my lawful prerogatives without encroaching on yours, I shall be always disposed to concert with you on all that can give more clearness to our compact, and thus lead us on to the constant increase of the public prosperity, in a firm and united manner.

Our exportation has been very active, and the balance of commerce for this and the preceding year, has been in our favour. The harvests have been abundant, and still the cultivator is embarrassed. He will continue to be so until a new mortgaging system places him in a more secure position, than that which he is now in. If the hope which I entertain of seeing their situation improved, is not justified, I will again assemble the States-General around me, in order to propose measures to them, the efficacy of which cannot be doubted, except in those cases which are not within the reach of our assistance.

The committee charged with digesting the new code, has completed its labours. This

code will be presented in the next session, with the modifications or improvements which I shall judge right to introduce. The code of criminal law is also the object of my solicitude. Its digest will bear the stamp of individual liberty and of general security.

The sums which you have placed at my disposal for the completion of the grand works of the canal of Gotha, and for other works of public interest, appear to me sufficient; and I hope to be able to fulfil your expectations and my own.

The progress of administration developes itself in so evident a manner, that it is impossible for any observer, even the least clear-sighted, not to mark its advances. Happy the nations, which in the bosom of public peace can thus increase their welfare, and simplify their institutions.

The system of neutrality which my Government has adopted in all affairs, which do not essentially and immediately affect the existence of the two kingdoms, insures us that this neutrality will continue to be respected. On our part, we will neglect nothing to make it lasting. The friendly relations existing with all the Powers of Europe, augur a lasting peace, which forms the object of our wishes.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the multiplied proofs of affection and devotion, which you have given me, as well as each of the members of my family. I regret that the separation of the Diet, joined to the bad season of the year, should have prevented the execution of the desire which you manifested to me for the coronation of the Queen, my wife. This desire shall be gratified at the next meeting of the States-General.

On returning to your hearths, and to the bosom of your families, strengthen the bonds of peace and union. Be friends, be Swedes! That glorious name reminds you that the empire of firmness is the first of all, but that weakness and discord destroy states, and snatch their liberty from mankind.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of all my sentiments, and of my Royal favour.

ANSWER TO THE DEPUTATIONS OF THE FOUR ORDERS, AT THE CLOSE OF THE DIET, DEC. 22, 1823.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Nobility,

The sentiments which you have expressed for me, are my recompense for the troubles and cares inseparable from a throne; and I receive them with the satisfaction and the gratitude with which this new offering of your devotion inspires me.

The first order of the State, and enabled to appreciate the advantages of a social organization, you must have observed the benefits which arise to nations from the system of justice by which the administration acts. Civil dissensions, the abandonment of agriculture, and the enslavement of the people, are generally the fatal results of the timidity and weakness of governments. We shall avoid these scourges, the destruction of empires; and the country will continue to enjoy its internal repose, and its independence abroad.

The Nobility will, I am sure, second me in my efforts for the happiness and the glory of the nation, and will thereby prove that they have never ceased to honour the ashes of those

heroes who were the first founders of their order.

I renew to you, Gentlemen, the assurance of all my sentiments, and of my Royal favour.

Gentlemen, the Members of the Order of the Clergy,

I thank you for the sentiments which you have just expressed to me; they are the same as those you have always manifested both by words and actions, and it is an agreeable satisfaction to me to render this justice to the order of the Clergy.

The pure evangelical doctrine has laid in Sweden the foundation of your social organization. Ministers of that Church, specially charged to enlighten men, and to strengthen their religious belief, you perform at once the double task of forming citizens faithful to the state, and of instilling that pure and Christian morality, which makes man at peace with himself, and teaches him to place all his hope and all his trust in the infinite goodness of the Creator.

Continue to diffuse the salutary principles which you profess; and while you contribute to the perfecting of public education, impress on youth the distinction between truth and false-

hood, justice and all that bears only the appearance of it. In declaring to you that I reckon on your efforts to perform this grand national object, I seize with pleasure this occasion to assure the order of the clergy of my support, of my affection, and of my Royal favour.

Gentlemen, the members of the Order of Burgesses,

Commerce and industry are the principal sources of the riches, of the strength, and of the security of empires. It is by commerce and navigation that we have acquired the knowledge of our globe: it is commerce which has civilized the world; and it is commerce, moreover, which has raised many states, such as England and North America, to the height of prosperity which they now enjoy. These countries afford an incontestable proof of the great advantages which result from a well-established national industry. We ourselves daily acquire the happy experience of the affluence which it introduces in all classes, and in how much it generally improves our situation. You may rely then, Gentlemen, on the protection of Government. I am persuaded that your order will continue to second me by its efforts in all that can contribute to the maintenance of the

public credit, the principal basis of the preservation of our wealth, our liberty, and our independence.

I receive, Gentlemen, the expression and the assurance of your sentiments with the satisfaction which I derive from the conviction that I have acquired your attachment for myself and my family; and I am delighted to renew to you the assurance of my Royal favour.

Good and loyal Peasants,

The Diet which has just closed has afforded me a new pledge of the frank and patriotic sentiments which animate the class of the Swedish peasants. With their devotion and fidelity to me I am well acquainted, but it is always very delightful to hear the expression of it repeated. Supporters of the State, the props of the throne, and defenders of the liberty of the nation, the order of Peasants may expect every thing from me, when their interest and welfare are in question; and I, in my turn, have the right of demanding every thing of them, when the public prosperity and preservation of our rights are at stake.

Carry back to your peaceable dwellings the favour of your King, and the assurance of the tender interest which he takes in you.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO M. THE COUNT DE BRAHE, WHO HAD RETURNED TO HIS MAJESTY THE BATON OF MARSHAL OF THE DIET, DEC. 22, 1823.

Count De Brahe, and you, Gentlemen,

The Marshal who has borne the baton, which you now return to me, during this Diet, has fully justified the confidence which I had placed in him.

I was guided in my choice, not only by the esteem which your order entertains for him, but moreover by the knowledge which I had acquired of the exalted qualities which have always distinguished him.

In the important duties which he has performed, he has had no other aim than the welfare of his Country, and the glory of his King.

Inform him, that to give a marked proof of the satisfaction I feel at his honourable services, I have raised him to the dignity of Noble of the realm. The nobility will observe in this resolution the continuance of my sentiments towards them. Be persuaded, Count De Brahe, that I shall always be gratified at having an opportunitv of renewing my expressions of them.

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE STORTHING OF NORWAY, FEB. 9, 1824.

Gentlemen,

The fundamental law, by virtue of which you are assembled in ordinary Storthing, points out to each of you his duties and his rights. It is not so much to the obligations thus imposed, as to the enlightened patriotism and the good faith of its representatives, that the people look for their tranquillity at home, and their consequence abroad. And moreover it is only by a perfect union between their delegates and the chief of the State, that they can enjoy the beneficial effects of their Constitution. It is with these happy auspices that I salute you to-day, on the opening of your session.

The report of the state of the kingdom, which will be laid before you, will instruct you in detail of the salutary effects resulting from the confidence reposed by the last Storthing in the Government. Agriculture has made a rapid stride, and commerce has recovered itself. New lines of communication have favoured the common interests of the two brother-nations. The finances of the State have been administered with so much regularity, that I have had

no necessity to make use of the credit which was offered to me by the Bank; and the political engagement which we had made with Denmark has been performed according to the basis laid down by the Storthing of 1821.

It remains for us to improve our social compact: you are about to deliberate on the changes which have already been proposed in the last Storthing. I appeal to the conviction of all of you, to judge of their utility. A paternal government applies itself to enlighten the citizens, and it is for their judgment to recognize the urgency of the measures which it has originated.

If the absolute will of the chief must be executed on the instant in the field of battle, it is not thus, when the settlement of a nation is debating. It is by calmness, by meditation, by abstraction from all particular interests, and by a proper mastery over their wills, that men succeed in giving themselves institutions analogous to their locality and their character. Concord is chiefly necessary for the bringing about the final result of real happiness.

The organization of a country ought to establish a perfect balance between the sovereign and the legislative assembly: this balance, the essential base of mutual confidence, is contained

in the spirit of our fundamental law; and the people who invest their legislators with the right of proposing laws, desire, at the same time, that their permanent and hereditary chief should, on his part, affix his sanction to the laws which he finds just and useful. I think it due, therefore, to repeat to you, what I said at the close of the Storthing of 1821, "That it is only after mature reflection on my duties, and the wants of the nation, that I have caused to be laid before you the different propositions for the alterations in the act of the Constitution."

It is for you to examine what is immediately necessary, and what may be the subject of more mature consideration. It is for you to foresee the inconveniences which may arise, if shackles, which are not authorized by the spirit of the Constitution, prevent the Government from procuring for the people all that is required by the present state of society.

In the number of changes proposed, that which concerns Section 79 is especially of great consequence. The necessity of making this section harmonize with Sections 1 and 3 is evident; and I invite you, Gentlemen, to employ yourselves on this subject, with the at-

tention which should characterize the representatives of a body politic.

In extending your views beyond our sphere, may noble thoughts elevate your minds, and preside over your deliberations, as also over the resolutions you are about to take. You will then be convinced, I am sure, that justice and moderation are the essential bases of the strength of Constitutional assemblies. Exercise, Gentlemen, those noble virtues; and when your session shall be closed, you will find your recompense in the conviction of having fulfilled your duties, in the favour of your King, and in the gratitude of your fellow-citizens.

The communications which I made to the last Storthing extraordinary, concerning the union projected between my Son and the Princess Josephine Maximilienne Eugenie de Leuchtenberg, have been accomplished. The marriage was celebrated at Stockholm on the 19th of last June, in the presence of the States-General of Sweden, and of the deputies nominated by the Storthing of Norway.

Our relations with all powers are friendly, and we continue to enjoy the happy results of neutrality and peace. My efforts are exerted to insure their duration.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE TOWN OF NORRKÖPING, FEB. 13, 1824.

Gentlemen,

The misfortune which struck the industrious town of Norrköping in 1822, and destroyed your fortunes, furnishes you, nevertheless, with a new cause to trust in Providence to repair the losses you have suffered. It is Providence which has raised your courage, and given you strength to confess, that it never abandons, even in the greatest disasters, religious citizens, faithful to their Government, and submissive to the laws.

When I came among you at the period which you have just recalled to me, I did but obey a paternal feeling, and a duty which I had it in my power to perform. Your gratitude doubtless exaggerates this benefit, but it is to me a fresh proof of those national virtues which distinguish the Swedish people.

The desires expressed by three orders of the State on the subject of our commercial regulations, are the object of my continual reflections. Invested by the law with the right of deciding on this great question of the public indepen-

dence and prosperity, I shall preserve in my resolution, the impartiality which the high situation I fill demands. I hope to be able to reconcile the interests of commerce, those of agriculture, and lastly, all which concerns the existence of the manufacturing class of this kingdom; for if one of these branches suffer, the others can only drag on a feeble and languishing existence. The advancement of the arts, of the sciences, and of all possible kinds of industry, are indispensable to those nations which desire to preserve their civil liberty and their political independence.

Assure the inhabitants of your town that their attachment to me and to my family will always be valued by me, and that I shall ever preserve a remembrance of the repeated proofs of it, which they have already given me.

ANSWER OF THE KING TO A DEPUTATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LUND, RAMLOSA, JULY 9, 1824.

I assent to the measure you have proposed, and I appoint the Chancellor whom you request me to nominate.

Unity in the principles of public instruction gives a direction to the national education, which operates upon the prosperity of the country, and on the continuance of its national feeling.

My Son is already identified with this instruction. He will feel for the young students, who profit by your lessons, the same interest and the same affection which he already bears towards the pupils of the University of Upsala. The two Universities of the kingdom will have by my side, the same support and the same defender.

My Son will be happy to distinguish at Lund, as at Upsala, those young men, who will be called one day to undertake the principal duties of the State. The new obligations which he will henceforth have to fill, will not be a burthen to him. The friend of Science and of Literature, he appreciates and honours those who, by diffusing them, shed a splendour on all that accords with truth and with justice.

I seize with pleasure this opportunity to assure you, Gentlemen, of the continuance of my protection and royal favour.

SPEECH OF THE KING DELIVERED BY THE PRINCE ROYAL, AT THE CLOSE OF THE STORTHING, AUGUST, 10. 1824.

His Majesty announces to the Storthing, that its session is closed. During the whole time that it has been assembled, the King has seen with satisfaction, the good feeling by which it has been directed.

Many laws have been adopted essential to the public and private interest, and His Majesty anticipates from them the best results. His Majesty regrets that the constitutional propositions made by him in 1821, and especially the one relating to section 79, on the power of absolute negative, have not been adopted in this session; but, at the same time, His Majesty finds a source of consolation in his firm conviction that the non-acceptation of this proposition has not originated in a spirit of opposition, but rather in a fear of encroaching on the act of the constitution.

His Majesty is of opinion that the explanations which have been since given to the Storthing, will dispel the doubts which may still exist on the absolute negative, which the head of the

state ought to have on the propositions of the legislature.

The King feels convinced that the Storthing partakes of the happiness which his Majesty feels on the improvement of all branches of public administration. Although this good works slowly, the evidence of it developes itself so clearly to the eyes of all, that even the most stubborn injustice cannot call it in question.

The King is convinced that all the members of the Storthing will concur with him in augmenting and maintaining, by every means in their power, all the sources of the public prosperity; and his Majesty will readily have recourse to the assistance of the national assembly, on all occasions when he thinks that the good of the State requires it.

His Majesty renews to you all, Gentlemen, and to each one in particular, the assurance of his royal favour.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SITTING OF THE ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE, JAN. 28, 1825.

Gentlemen,

It is twelve years to-day since the time, when on founding this academy, I told you that agriculture prospered in the highest degree in that country where, under the ægis of guarantees, men could confide in the future. The results have exceeded the hopes that we then conceived. The strength of the law, the respect for its execution, the security which each citizen has enjoyed, and the assurance that the power of the government was occupied in perpetuating that security—these are the causes which have given rise to the immense produce which we have obtained, in spite of the severity of our climate.

Twelve years ago we were dependent on our neighbours for the first necessaries of life. Now we can offer our assistance to those who may suffer from a scarcity. The harbours of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean have seen Swedish vessels export our corn to their shores. But, Gentlemen, there is one great point which we should never lose sight of—we should esta-

blish, as well as extend. As long as that caution regulates enterprizes, the riches of the nation increase, and the fortunes of individuals are confirmed. At the present time, we should direct the impulse given to agricultural speculations, much rather with the view of regulating and consolidating it, than of maintaining the momentum already communicated, which has been pursued with so much perseverance, and crowned with so much success.

Conquests have an end; the strength of circumstances, that of events, Nature herself, all show it. Let us profit by the lessons which every thing concurs in giving us.

To be useful to a nation, to preserve its rights, and to ensure its prosperity, we must banish that precipitancy, which consolidates nothing, we must introduce lasting improvements, whose durability is ensured by the test of experience. There are individuals, who do not always comprehend the beneficent intentions of a government, and it sometimes happens that they think themselves injured, when we desire only to break the fetters by which habit has bound them; while with others, the very extent of their knowledge leads them to overstep the bounds which are opposed to their

wishes. If it be a part of the duty of a citizen to respect the laws, even in the errors which they contain, the chief of a state oftentimes finds himself obliged to act with circumspection, when he wishes to abrogate customs consecrated by time, however opposed they may be to the developement of the greatness and of the wealth of the country which he governs.

Nations do not resemble individuals. The latter are in haste for enjoyment: every thing that dazzles, governs and seduces them. Nations, on the contrary, mark the passage of centuries, and await new ones. The slow march of Time and the experience of the Past, consolidate their existence, and prepare for them a Future which they may contemplate with pride. It is on this progressive march that I depend in the cause of agriculture. It shows us that the excess of agricultural produce should be exchanged for the produce of the industry of cities, and that when these latter are cultivating and not manufacturing, a country may certainly be tranquil in its interior, and content with its daily enjoyments, but for the very reason that the cities compete with the country in the cultivation of the earth, they must at length circumscribe the first of these branches, by not

applying themselves to the production of those articles for which we are still indebted to foreigners.

Every Swede has the satisfaction of knowing, that since 1811 the population has increased by a number equal to the inhabitants of the two most popular provinces of the kingdom at that time. As a nation studies the legislation of its neighbours, and seeks to discover whatever excellence it may contain, in like manner it should study their agriculture and their administration to profit by their discoveries, and to avoid their errors. Agriculture is, in truth, the first of all branches of industry. But, like all other branches of industry, it must be regulated by the quantity of consumers. If the production be much more considerable than the consumption, and if it have no vent for its overplus, either in the country or abroad, the situation of the producer, instead of improving, becomes each day more grievous and more perplexing.

Let us take advantage, then, of all that is useful; let us reject all that is injurious; let us look back upon the past; let us observe the present, and await with confidence the future, under the protection of a Providence which has watched in so miraculous a manner, over one

of the most ancient people of Europe. Let us reflect, that while many countries are troubled to find new resources to supply their annual deficiency, the two governments of Scandinavia while they prosecute for the interest of agriculture those great works of internal communication, which are completing under our eyes, offer each year either diminutions of the taxes which have weighed most on the cultivator, or an excess of revenue; let us reflect that to continue to be free in our domestic policy, and independent in our political relations, we have need only of our own endeavours, and that all that is necessary is to reconcile the love of independence with a due regard for the constituted authorities; let us maintain our present relations of union, of confidence, and mutual devotion between the two people of the Peninsula. Strong in this union, equally strong in the policy of their government, they aim at nothing beyond what they now possess; but the same motive which prompts their Moderation, bids them also discard Fear.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

Preparing for publication, 8vo.

THE HISTORY

OF

INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE.

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCREDITED PERIODS TO THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

BY WILLIAM GEORGE MEREDITH, ESQ. A. M.

IMPORTANT WORKS,

JUST PUBLISHED,

OR NEARLY READY FOR PUBLICATION,

BY H. COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

---

1. LIFE of JOHN LOCKE. With Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place Books. By Lord King. In 1 vol. 4to. with Portrait.

2. PERSONAL NARRATIVE of TRAVELS to CONSTANTINOPLE. By Captain C. C. Frankland, R.N. In 2 vols. 8vo. with Plates.

3. THE DIARY and CORRESPONDENCE of PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D. Edited from the Originals, by his Great-Grand-son, John Doddridge Humphreys, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo.

4. THE LOVES of the POETS. By the Author of the "Diary of an Ennuyée." In 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s.

5. TRAVELS in TURKEY, EGYPT, NUBIA, PALESTINE, &c. By R. R. Madden, Esq. In 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

6. LITERARY MEMORIALS. By the Author of "Four Years in France," and "Italy as it is." 1 vol. 8vo.

7. THREE YEARS in CANADA; an Account of the actual State of that Country in 1826, 1827, and 1828; by John Mactaggart, Civil-Engineer, in the Service of the British Government. In 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s.

8. TRAVELS in ASSYRIA, MEDIA, and PERSIA. By J. S. Buckingham, Esq. Author of "Travels in Mesopotamia, Palestine," &c. 1 vol. 4to. with numerous Engravings, price 3l. 13s. 6d. boards.

9. BURCKHARDT'S TRAVELS in ARABIA; comprehending an Account of those Territories which the Mohammedans regard as Sacred. Second Edition, 2 vols. 8vo. with map and plans. 24s.

10. JOURNAL of an EMBASSY to the COURT of AVA, from the Governor-General of India, in the Year 1827, by John Crawfurd, Esq. late Envoy, with a Geological Appendix by Dr. Buckland and Mr. Clift. 1 vol. 4to. with Map and numerous Plates. 3l. 13s. 6d. boards.

11. THIRD VOLUME of MEMOIRS of the EMPRESS JOSEPHINE, by Mademoiselle Ducrest. Comprising the highly curious Private Correspondence of the Empress, now first published. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d. French 8s. (Nearly ready).

12. MEMOIRS of LADY FANSHAWE, Wife of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart. Ambassador from Charles II. to the Court of Madrid. Written by Herself, now first published from the Original MS. To which are added, Extracts from the Correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe. Handsomely printed in 1 vol. 8vo. with a Portrait.

13. BURKE'S DICTIONARY of the PEERAGE and BARONETAGE of the BRITISH EMPIRE.

New Edition, inscribed, by Permission, to HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, corrected to the present period, in 1 large volume 8vo. price 35s.

This work has undergone a very laborious revision, and a plan has been pursued, which it is hoped will satisfactorily obviate the hitherto universal complaint against books of genealogy, in regard to perspicuity. To render this department as interesting as possible, accounts will also be found of many celebrated extinct houses, branches from which still exist. A very large addition has likewise been made to COLLATERALS, so that all within the remotest remaindership to honours appear in their proper places—and a description of the armorial bearings of each house is given in the body of the work, independently of the numerous engravings.

Printed for Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street.

14. THE DIARY of THOMAS BURTON, Esq. MEMBER in the PARLIAMENTS of the PROTECTORS OLIVER and RICHARD CROMWELL, from 1656 to 1659, now first published from the original Autograph Manuscript; with an Introduction, containing AN ACCOUNT of the PARLIAMENT of 1654, from the Journal of GUIBON GODDARD, ESQ. M.P. ALSO NOW FIRST PRINTED; and several other curious Documents and Notices, Historical and Biographical. Edited by JOHN TOWILL RUTT, Esq. In 4 vols. 8vo. with Plates, 2*l.* 16s.

"This work serves to fill up that chasm, so long existing in our Parliamentary History."

"These Volumes overflow with information respecting the principles and proceedings of the Legislature during a most important period of English history. Every library which pretends to contain an historical collection, must possess itself of Burton's Diary: it is as indispensable as Burnet, Clarendon, or Brodie."—Atlas.

15. MEMOIRS and CORRESPONDENCE of SAMUEL PEPYS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II., and the intimate friend of the celebrated John Evelyn. EDITED BY LORD BRAYBROOKE. Second Edition. In 5 vols. 8vo. embellished with Portraits and other Engravings, by the first Artists. 3*l.* 10s.

"Notwithstanding the extensive popularity of the Memoirs of Grammont, and the still greater attractions of those of Evelyn, we have no hesitation in stating our opinion that these volumes will outstrip them both in public estimation. They reach the very *beau ideal* of what we desire from such records."—Literary Gazette.

16. THE CORRESPONDENCE and DIARIES of HENRY HYDE, EARL of CLARENDON, and LAWRENCE HYDE, EARL of ROCHESTER; comprising minute particulars of the events attending the Revolution, &c. &c.; published from the Original Manuscripts, with Notes. In 2 vols. 4to. Illustrated with Portraits, copied from the Originals, by permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon; and other Engravings. 5*l.* 5s.

"Of all the momentous epochs in the annals of England, from the Norman Conquests to the year 1688, there is not one of equal moment to that upon which the volumes before us throw so many new lights."—Literary Gazette.

"A body of the most remarkable and authentic private evidence which has descended to us, of the events connected with the Revolution to 1688."—Monthly Review.

"This valuable collection of papers is an important accession to the historical and biographical library."—Gentleman's Magazine.

17. ST. PETERSBURGH: A JOURNAL of TRAVELS to and from that Capital, through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, Germany, and France. By A. B. Granville, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., M.R.I., &c. Second Edition. In 2 large vols. 8vo. with numerous plates.

18. NOTIONS of the AMERICANS: picked up by a TRAVELLING BACHELOR. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 8s.

"We have read these volumes with the most unmingled satisfaction. The writer is no other than Cooper, the well-known national novelist of America." Monthly Magazine.

"Mr. Cooper's book is the best that has been Written on America."—London Weekly Review.

19. MEXICO. By H. G. WARD, Esq. late his Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in that Country. Comprising the Personal Narrative of his Travels—a History of the Revolution from 1810 to 1824—the Present State of the Country, and particularly of the Mining Districts. In 2 large vols. 8vo. with numerous Plates from Drawings by Mrs. Ward. 38s.

"We consider this work to be the best and most complete that has been hitherto published on the subject."—Athenæum.

"Enjoying both from official station and long residence the best opportunities for becoming fully acquainted with the state of Mexico, Mr. Ward has here turned these advantages to the most profitable account, and produced a sterling work upon a subject of great and growing interest."—Literary Gazette.

DATE DUE

GAYLORD			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

A 000 664 197 1